

lived modernism:

when architecture transforms

lived modernism: when architecture transforms

Hannah le Roux

Dissertation presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctorate in Architecture

Supervisors:

Prof. dr. Hilde Heynen

Prof. dr. Bruno De Meulder

Prof. arch. Paul Robbrecht

Assessors:

Prof. dr. Marc Dujardin

Prof. dr. Katja Grillner

Prof. dr. Ann Heylighen

Prof. dr. Vikramaditya Prakash

Dr. Johan Van Den Berghe

Prof. dr. Johan Verbeke

October 2014

© 2014 KU Leuven

Uitgegeven in eigen beheer, Hannah Kellsey le Roux, Johannesburg

Alle rechten voorbehouden. Niets uit deze uitgave mag worden vermenigvuldigd en/of openbaar gemaakt worden door middel van druk, fotokopie, microfilm, elektronisch of op welke andere wijze ook zonder voorafgaandelijke schriftelijke toestemming van de uitgever.

All rights reserved. No part of the publication may be reproduced in any form by print, photoprint, microfilm, electronic or any other means without written permission from the publisher.

ISBN 978-94-91656-02-6

D/2014/13.058/2

abstract

Lived modernism explores the moments when architecture changes. Inspired by my first hand experience of the contemporary reuse, in Africa and beyond, of spaces constructed during modernism, specifically from 1945 to 1975 it works to extract approaches and concepts applicable to the contemporary practice of architecture. Modernist space, despite its deterministic intentions, becomes *open* at the moment of appropriation by emergent social practices. This *lived modernism* can find an analogy in design, specifically in the practice of critical design. The critical stance works in two ways, towards a theoretical redefinition of the agency of design, and through the practice of experimental probes.

This dissertation moves from documentary investigations that look back over sixty years of change, into the near past and present. Departing from the 2007 KwaThema Project, it expands on how this pilot project generated an emancipatory place and event. This project evolved through the documentation of local contexts and practices, networking with social actors, and cleaning modernist spaces and structures as preparatory work. This foundational work dovetailed with the design of probes that insert micro-technologies, visual elements and events into found space, in the creation of new scenarios.

The central work took place through the social and spatial design of two new micro-projects in the township of KwaThema and the inner city of Johannesburg. These projects involve a combinatory approach to architecture that connects forms of spatial practice that have existed in parallel. The objective is the making of what is termed *transforms*, short-lived projects which act as catalysts of transitions between the status quo and future scenarios of a richer, more inclusive city.

The main theme of reflection is on *transforms*, an open, placeholder term given to describe the designerly elements that catalyse moments of change. When modernism is re-appropriated, its existing materials allow for new uses and identities to take shape. *Transforms* are tied to the definition of imaginative scenarios that interrelate this found and apparently empty context, which is excavated from beneath the layers generated by the lifecycle of the physical context, with still ephemeral and gestural social formations. In the process, the typological roots of modernist space can become pure support, as a minimal and abstract form, and the emergent social aspects are projected and amplified.

The study then records how, using the model of agents of *lived modernism* in Africa and the arts, it has engaged over time with sites and subjects of change, developing methods of documentation, including timelines and network diagrams. These processes guide the design of *transforms*, as they locate and catalyse the moments where the

temporal, social and formal dimensions of transformation coincide. In designerly terms, the projects draw on minimalist approaches of lightness, contextualism and material precision as ways to intensify the relationship between the interventions and their fields.

The consequence is to shift the focus of design away from determinism and towards the construction of transformative moments that recognise and value the residue of modernism as Commons, and the alternative social practices that lay claim to it. Such design probes could generate critical insights into the potential role and value of architecture in reshaping the everyday world. Design thus plays a complex role, producing not only objects and relations, but also provoking a reflective process that supports the desire for transformation.

Samenvatting

Geleefd modernisme verkent de momenten waarop architectuur verandert. De inspiratie ervoor komt uit mijn eigen ervaring van hedendaags hergebruik, in Afrika en daarbuiten, van ruimten gebouwd tijdens het modernisme, in het bijzonder in de periode 1945-1975. Het project beoogt benaderingen en concepten te formuleren die relevant zijn voor de hedendaagse architectuurpraktijk. Modernistische ruimte, hoe zeer ook bedoeld als functioneel gedetermineerd, wordt open op het moment dat ze toegeëigend wordt middels nieuwe sociale praktijken. Dit *geleefd modernisme* kan een equivalent vinden in het ontwerp, meer bepaald in de praktijk van kritisch ontwerp. Deze kritische positionering werkt op tweeërlei wijze: enerzijds beoogt ze een theoretische herconceptualisering van de agency van het ontwerp, anderzijds wordt deze agency ook uitgetoetst in een serie van experimentele proefopstellingen.

Het project begint met een reeks documentaties die terugkijken op 60 jaar van veranderingen, in het recent verleden en in het heden. Het bouwt verder op de werkwijze die uitgetoetst werd in het KwaThema Project (2007), dat een emancipatorische plek en gebeurtenis creëerde. Het ontwikkelt zich doorheen de documentatie van lokale contexten en praktijken, het vormen van netwerken van sociale actoren en het uitzuiveren van modernistische ruimten en structuren als voorbereidend werk, tot het ontwerpen van proefopstellingen die micro-technologieën, visuele elementen en events inzetten voor de creatie van nieuwe scenario's.

Het centrale luik van het werk concretiseerde zich in het sociale en ruimtelijke ontwerp van twee nieuwe micro-projecten in de township van KwaThema en in de binnenstad van Johannesburg. Deze projecten zijn gebaseerd op een combinatorische aanpak van architectuur, die vormen van ruimtelijke praktijk met elkaar in verband brengt die tot dan toe naast elkaar bestonden. De bedoeling is te komen tot een ontwerp van wat ik *transforms* noem, kortstondige projecten die werken als catalysators die de overgang bewerkstelligen van de status quo naar toekomstscenario's voor een rijkere, meer inclusieve stad.

Transforms vormt het belangrijkste reflectiethema in het werk. De term is niet definitief, maar fungeert als een tijdelijke aanduiding die verwijst naar ontwerpelementen die als catalysator voor verandering dienst doen. *Transforms* zijn gebonden aan de formulering van verbeeldingsrijke scenario's die het verband leggen tussen de schijnbaar lege context, overgelaten door het modernisme (en uitgegraven door de bovenliggende sedimenten van recente levensfasen weg te halen), en nog zeer voorlopige, efemere, slechts in aanzet aanwezige sociale formaties. De typologische onderlegger van de modernistische ruimte kan in dit proces vervellen tot pure drager, een minimale en abstracte vorm, die embryonale sociale praktijken ondersteunt en uitvergroot.

De studie vervolgt met een nauwkeurige rapportering van engagementen en interacties die in de loop van het project zijn aangegaan met plekken en subjecten van verandering. Deze rapportering vergt eigenzinnige methoden van documentatie, geïnspireerd op de analyse van *geleefd modernisme* in Afrika en in de kunsten, en gebaseerd op tijdslijnen en netwerkdiagrammen. Deze processen leidden tot het ontwerpen van *transforms*, die momenten localiseren en katalyseren waarop tijdelijke, sociale en vormelijke aspecten van verandering samenvallen. In ontwerpmatige termen kan men stellen dat de projecten verderbouwen op minimalistische benaderingen van lichtheid, op respect voor de context en op materiële precisie, als manieren om de relatie tussen de interventies en hun omgeving te intensifiëren.

Het gevolg van dit alles is dat de aandacht in het ontwerp verschuift, weg van determinisme, naar het construeren van transformatieve momenten die de overblijfselen van modernisme, en de sociale praktijken die er beslag op leggen, erkennen en waarderen als Commons. Zulke ontwerp proeven kunnen kritische inzichten opleveren over de potentiële rol en waarde van architectuur bij het transformeren van de alledaagse leefwereld. Ontwerpen speelt dus een complexe rol: het produceert niet enkel objecten en relaties, maar leidt ook tot een reflectief proces dat het verlangen naar transformatie mee vorm geeft.

acknowledgements

This project has taken considerable commitment on the part of my promoters, who have patiently followed its progress from afar and through visits to the sites involved. My heartfelt thanks to: Professor Hilde Heynen, for her ongoing clarity in helping to define this relatively new approach to architectural research; Professor Bruno de Meulder, for relentlessly pursuing urbanism's relationships beyond the west through this project and other inspiring ones; and to Architect Paul Robbrecht for the concrete inspiration of his works and drawings.

The various elements entailed have all enjoyed the support of a range of people, including Berend van der Lans, Joep Mol and Antoni Folkers, who connected me with KU Leuven and the IFG Ulm, particularly Dr René Spitz, Christopher Dell and Bernard Kneiss, who funded and mentored the KwaThema Project. Paul Jenkins, Beatrys Lacquet, Robin Drennan, Alan Mabin and Hugo Canham, the Carnegie Transformation grant, the SPARC fund from Wits, Clare Digby and the Oppenheimer Trust, Kevin Balkwill of APES and the Goethe Institute, especially Cara Shyman all facilitated funding and time off; and Shiu-Wen Chu and Annabel Sels have given me homes from home.

Intellectually, this project has been inspired by Pancho Guedes, my first professor, who opened the designer's documentary path; my colleagues at Wits, especially Hilton Judin, Kirsten Doermann, Tanya Zack, Dorothee Kreuzfeldt and Bettina Malcomess; those in Belgium, particularly Johan Lagae, Viviana d'Auria, Michiel Dehaene and Filip de Boeck; my discussants Thiresh Govender, Lorenzo Romito and Terry Kurgan, and my dear friends Lesley Cowling, Cathi du Toit, Nnamdi Elleh, Eitan Karol, Andy Kriek, Louis Kruger, Lesley Lokko, Iain Low, Baerbel Muller, David Rifkind, Katharina Rohde, Melinda Silverman, Ola Uduku and Fabio Vanin.

The design-build projects are indebted to many participants, but in particular, my students from Wits, Eduardo Cachucho, Catherine da Souza, Guy Trangos, Christof van Wyk and Zakeeya Kalla; the consultants Emmanuel Makhele, John Abbott, John Perlman and Joe Paine, and most of all, the communities who co-created them: in KwaThema, Tseleng Phala, Principal Nkosi, coach "Whitey" Tchowa and the staff and students of Tlakula High, Tsepile Ramatao, Sibusiso Nhlapo, Thabang Mfelang, Michael Mtsweni and Innocent Mayoyo, and in Jeppe, Tigris Lemma, Kassa Gebrehana and Abtamu Eda.

For keeping order in my home, my warmest appreciation to Patience Bulelwa Mashiya.

And to my family: thank you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
1. documentary/reflection/project	4
1.1 a moment: Holy Cross School	4
1.2 other moments	4
1.3 transforms	5
2. contexts	8
2.1 porous modernism	8
2.2 the personal and the political	8
2.3 the touchstone of Africa	10
2.4 the Crisis	12
3. aims	13
3.1 modifying modernism	13
3.2 starting with the minor	13
3.3 emancipatory narratives	14
4. approach	16
4.1 a constructed methodology	16
4.2 design research	18
5. structure	22
5.1 Part I: reviewing (lived) modernism	22
5.2 Part II: modernism transforms architecture	22
5.3 Part III: practice transforms	23
5.4 notes on formatting	23
5.5 project location	24
I. REVIEWING (LIVED) MODERNISM	25
1. modes of (re)viewing	26
2. documentary: the other lives of African modernism	27

2.1 overview	27
2.2 struggle scenes, 1976-1990	29
2.3 inner city Johannesburg, 1997	30
2.4 Nigeria, 2002	31
3. ambivalent reuses	32
3.1 seminars	32
4. dirty dozen: creative reuse	33
4.1 overview	33
4.2 a dozen projects	35
4.2.1 the field of choice	35
4.2.2 tabling	35
4.2.3 comparing	40
4.3 dozens of strategies	44
4.4 minor modifications	50
4.5 tabling strategies	50
5. conclusion of part I	52
 II. MODERNISM TRANSFORMS ARCHITECTURE	 53
1. introduction	56
2. the contexts of transforms	57
2.1 lived modernism	57
2.2 theoretical contexts	57
2.2.1 after strong architecture	57
2.2.2 the Commons	60
2.2.3 recognitions of social emergence	61
2.2.4 intersections	61
3. social MNMLSM	63
3.1 minimalism	63

3.2 four minimalist practices	64
3.2.1 four out of many	64
3.2.2 Montessori: preparation of space; teaching aids	64
3.2.3 el Lissitzky: Prouns	65
3.2.4 Oiticica: penetrables; parangolés; bólides	65
3.2.5 Condorelli and Wade: Support Structures	66
3.3 Parallels between practices	68
3.3.1 reading the field	68
3.3.2 social emancipation	68
3.3.3 objects as support	68
3.3.4 neutrality	68
3.3.5 utility and autonomy	69
3.3.6 on parallels	70
<u>4. diagramming transforms</u>	<u>71</u>
4.1 terminology and its traps	71
4.2 transforms diagram	72
<u>5. conclusion of part II</u>	<u>75</u>

III. PRACTICE TRANSFORMS **77**

1. THE KWATHEMA PROJECT: PRACTICE TRANSFORMS **79**

<u>1. the pilot: KwaThema</u>	<u>82</u>
1.1 overview	82
1.2 KwaThema as lived modernism	84
1.3 seven weeks in KwaThema	89
1.3.1 overall project	89
1.3.2 The Beerhall as focus	90
1.3.3 conflicting perspectives	91
1.4 adapting the KwaThema Project as a model	92

1.5 KwaThema Project timeline	93
2. elements of practice	100
2.1 overview	100
2.2 archaeology	100
2.3 finding the fragile	101
2.4 imagining change	102
2.5 resisting bureaucracy	103
2.6 physical preparation	103
2.6.1 material clearing/cleaning	103
2.6.2 found objects	104
2.6.3 fixing	105
2.6.4 coding	105
2.7 choreography	106
2.8 moments	108
2.8.1 inversion	108
2.8.2 limiting intervention	109
2.9 afterwards	110
2.10 representation	111
2.10.1 combinatory diagrams	111
2.10.2 timelines	112
2.10.3 network diagrams	112
2.10.4 representing fit	114
2.10.5 vanishing transforms	114
3. conclusion	115
 2. PITCH: THE LANDSCAPE TRANSFORMS	 117
1. overview	120
1.1 (re)marks	120

1.2 landscape marks and social goals	121
2. documenting soccer	123
2.1 the view from the air	123
2.2 the view from the ground	130
2.3 soccer histories	130
2.4 the transformation of soccer	131
2.5 Legacy Fields	132
3. soccer in KwaThema	136
3.1 soccer sites	136
3.2 SAFA games	140
3.3 open fields	140
3.4 Nthokozweni	140
3.5 open fields/open questions	143
4. catalysing games	146
4.1 proposition	146
4.2 timelines	147
4.3 White Line Unit	152
4.4 open fields tournament	156
4.5 Eudy game	156
4.6 Gedult park	162
4.7 High School game	168
4.7.1 concluding event	168
4.7.2 excavating the field	168
4.7.3 lining the field	169
4.7.4 blank visibility	169
4.7.5 game to network	178
4.7.6 network to Commons	179
5. conclusion	184

3. BUNNABET JEPPE: A MATRIX TRANSFORMS	187
1. overview	190
1.1 coffee (g)rounds	190
1.2 BunnaBet	190
2. first round: from boxes to trays	192
2.1 the urban grid	192
2.2 Habesha Jeppe	195
2.3 boxes in boxes	198
2.4 the consequences of reuse	200
2.5 Majesty building	200
3. second round: engaging with coffee	207
3.1 grounds for projects	207
3.2 coffeemanifesto (Wits, 2009)	210
3.3 feedingspace (Arts on Main 2010)	214
3.4 field office (SPARC 2011)	224
3.5 Delvers street walks (2011-2012)	228
3.6 City Health (2012)	229
3.7 summary: extraction	230
4. third round: BunnaBet Jeppe (2011)	234
4.1 talking about coffee	234
4.2 red	236
4.3 yellow	237
4.4 green	237
4.5 cup to tray	238
5. BunnaBet diaspora	245
5.1 the coffeeshop programme	245
5.2 scaling the box	245
5.3 portability	247

6. conclusion	258
4. conclusion of part III	260
CONCLUSION	263
1. lived modernism, transforms	266
2. transforming architecture	266
3. transformative potentials	267
4. limitations	269
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	271
BIBLIOGRAPHY	275
APPENDIXES	287
seminars	288
PITCH	290
BunnaBet Jeppe	294
exhibition at pre-defense, Brussels 2014	295
overall timeline	298

INTRODUCTION

HOLY CROSS SCHOOL, LAGOS (ORIGINAL DESIGN BY FRY AND DREW, 1951) in 2002





1. documentary/reflection/project

1.1 a moment: *Holy Cross School*

In 2002, I went to West Africa to document modernist buildings designed at the end of the colonial era. Holy Cross School, in the heart of Lagos Island, was amongst them. It was probably a school holiday and the first impression was of an empty building. In revisiting the photograph, I felt that it recorded something significant. Another sort of programme was being launched in the open courtyard that separates two wings of classrooms. Someone had set up a table, under umbrellas embedded in used tyre rims, in line of sight from the gates that were plastered with signs for this ad-hoc academy. The insertion was light but highly strategic. A bright red umbrella marked an orientation point with a clear visibility. The placement inverted the void of the courtyard and made a new use of it, creating a virtual lobby around the registration table. Its setting against the patterned backdrop of the school wings gave it gravitas. It was serviced with buckets of food and water. Its construction, pieced together with objects at hand, probably took little more than a few minutes, and its deconstruction even less.

Holy Cross School is suggestive of a project. In a way, it is already one, in that as the subject of a *representation*, it provoked my post-facto, re-read response to an act of change. It could spill over to be a *social project*, in which activists could work with the people involved here and support the formalisation of their group. It could become a larger, *socio-spatial project* involving urban and governance policies that, given the lack of facilities for grassroots education in Nigeria, could perhaps facilitate the transformation of vacant buildings for similar uses.

Or, and this is the route chosen here, such images could simply evoke a parallel project, one that crosses between found practices, design strategies, and making architecture. It would value such scenes as a potential narrative of critical architectural practice. The motivation would not be to provoke an immediate and useful reaction in the name of social welfare, urban rehabilitation or cultural capital. It is rather about projecting an idea of change. It would aim this critical idea in two directions, questioning the definition of architecture, and valuing the emergence of such new practices. Much like the value of a utopia, the value of the transformation of Holy Cross School lies in its imaginative force. It is an evocative image that underlies a critical project.

1.2 other moments

Such scenes are familiar in many contexts in the post-industrial, post-colonial constructed world. Buildings from the era of stable institutions are being passed out of the control of the organizations that built them to other emerging groups of occupiers who lack the means to create formally established institutions. The new occupation is necessarily and self-consciously transitional. I'm drawn to this type of use of space, perhaps because at such moments the often deterministic role of architecture is somewhat loosened. In these situations, the added or

excavated aspects of once familiar spaces – forms, volumes, colours, light as well as ephemeral substances – stand out. These traces coincide with surprising scenes of human agency, of becoming, where final occupation is still immanent.

Such moments of transition to new occupations are the phenomenon at the heart of this project. In such periods of change, as the existing buildings' authority as a functional object and institution evaporates, the constructed environment appears extremely vital. The loss of fixity in the meaning of the modernist shell coincides with the emergence of new and multiple social expressions. It is at this moment that the elements that construct architecture - form and use - are both at their most open and contain their most intense potential. The situation is full of latency, evoking an imaginative reaction in those parallel social and spatial practices that we call architecture. I see in these moments not just the reuse of space, but the inventive elements, the design, involved in this act.

The way in which human practices and existing physical space mutually transform in the process of change is, I propose, a phenomenon that can be termed *lived modernism*. This phenomenon is familiar and repeated in a number of situations in post-colonial Africa, in post-apartheid South Africa, in moments of the global practice of architecture, and in everyday public space.

The central theme of reflection of this doctorate is on the mechanisms, including imaginative acts involved in the phenomenon of lived modernism. What kind of thinking, imaging, relationality and making takes place in this process of change? Can such momentary, even fragile acts be grouped together in the definition of this genre of practice, and through such a practice generate innovation in the discipline of architecture? Can the will to change, rather than the will to fix, become a reason to design? And which new ways of seeing, doing and reflecting can be used to render moments of change through the medium of architecture?

1.3 *transforms*

The intention of my work is to develop a combinatory approach to architecture that connects forms of spatial practice that have existed in parallel. My understanding of this dualism draws on the found practices of the African city, as well as the often under-articulated strategies of a number of practitioners and projects that have inspired my approach to design. At the same time, I acknowledge that the critique of the gap between modernism and other practices is a rich discussion in the literature of architecture. For instance, this gap is invoked in Van Eyck's concept of the "in-between" (Ligtelijn, 1999, van Eyck, 2008), the popular use of Bhabha's term to call for "hybridity" in practices (Hernández, 2010, AlSayad, 2001), Lefebvre's "moments of irruption" (Stanek, 2011), Heynen and Loeckx's "scenes of ambivalence" (Heynen and Loeckx, 1998), de Meulder's "hereafter" (de Meulder, 2002) and Holston's "Brazilianization" (Holston, 1989:289).

Where the work departs from this theoretical understanding is in the intention to work through design within contexts of lived modernism, using situations to both perform and critique the assumptions of my own performance. This decision introduces my own social and designerly agency into the work in an active way. The approaches that I develop will be applied in the form of design probes, experiments in public architecture at a micro scale. I see these approaches as *transforms*, elements of transition between the status quo and future scenarios of a richer, more inclusive city. Such *transforms* include both material and social elements which interrelate to bring about new scenarios within their found modernist settings.

The main contribution of the work has been its focus on *transforms* as a necessary, open descriptor for creative practices that catalyse moments of change. The work explores how in situations of transformation, existing and functionally ambivalent concrete elements become supports that allow for fluidity of use, identity and location to take shape, so giving a glimpse of their potentials. During this process, the layers constructed over the lifecycle of the physical context get peeled away to reveal the typological roots of modernist space, which become pure support, as a minimal and abstract form. At the same time, the still ephemeral and gestural social formations that emerge are projected and amplified by the frames, platforms and tools of their contexts. Such moments can be captured in documentary media, specifically photography and film.

But the practice of architecture can also engage with and support such processes by locating and catalysing the moments where the temporal, social and formal dimensions of transformation can coincide. This orientation involves a design process sensitive to, and crossing between, the multiple dimensions of a rich environment. It also requires the use of practices, both formal and social, that reinforce the emergent qualities found in and around the project. This active engagement with change means interrelating the existing and contemporary, the physical and the relational, and the stable and the ephemeral. Such practices of design recognise and value the manmade Commons of modernism, and the alternative social practices that lay claim to it. In their deployment they provoke critical insights into the potential role and value of architecture in reshaping the everyday world. Design thus plays a complex role, producing not only objects and relations, but also provoking a reflective process in support of the desire for transformation that alters, in turn, how and why we design.

RESEARCH LOCATIONS



2. contexts

2.1 porous modernism

The condition of modernity is overarching and almost everywhere. Its reflection in architecture is within the historical globalised production of spaces that shared materials, programmes and forms, shaping architectural modernism. These spaces have come to share an afterlife as well, in their tendency to further change, a condition that takes different directions but has the frame of their beginning in common. In contrast to earlier buildings and places, which, by virtue of their survival, are recognised as heritage elements and so largely protected from informal changes, modernist infrastructure is ubiquitous and often everyday in its nature.

This layer of the city, specifically the modernist construction of the 1930's to 1970's, is perhaps the one most available for change. Only in exceptional cases is modernist space preserved without the chance for alteration (Sharp and Cooke, 2000). Modernist space is often physically accessible for alternative uses. Unlike later urbanism that relates to networks of private vehicles, modernist space had relationships to public transport routes that are often extant, and is often central within the urban region or at least related to the location of labour. As a consequence this urban period is more often open to local appropriation and access to earlier and later urban layers.

Over and above a space, however, modernism is the product of modernity as a cultural condition related to change. In its utopian guise, it predicts emancipation through the unhinging from tradition in all its dimensions. In its realisation, however, its systemisation of change has always been erratic. In many instances, architecture has changed too slowly for its programmes, and societies are changing ahead of formal space. The consequences are the contexts for this project.

2.2 the personal and the political

My childhood experience in South Africa was of safe, ordered and “European” parts of towns, constructed and managed in the models of England, northern Europe and America. But it was not without contrast with other ways of being, in the glimpses of the after work lives of black domestic workers, and through many visits to Swaziland, an autonomous but poor African kingdom, where rural and urban space nonchalantly overlapped. Such departures from “white” space create a sense of doubled and split places and lives, a few hours apart.

The political changes after June 1976 onwards dramatically reordered South Africa. In protesting against the effects of *apartheid* on their everyday lives, black South Africans increasingly used the politics of visibility to contest the law, upsetting, at least temporarily, the spatial ordering of the Group Areas Act that had segregated cities since the 1950's

(Bozzoli, 2004, Hirsch, 2002). The vivid media imagery of the 1970's and 1980's documents well how youth and security forces reinvented black township streets as theatres of conflict as they alternated control of their space.

These images gave way to personal experience, through the extramural political education of my student years, particularly through direct participation in protests in the mid-1980's. Orchestrated events against the regime took us students into townships and contested public space. Understanding empowerment in this embodied way is unforgettable. One moment in this education: a march through Hillbrow, the most hostile urban environment of Johannesburg with high-rise tower blocks, shallow flats, gridded streets, and unbearable levels of personal violence. The march protested the endemic violence towards women. Walking was punctuated by singing, and whistles rang out to remind us of the frequency of violations. It ended in Joubert Park, in the space that is both the city's finest urban park and normally its most dangerous public space by night, with a concert and the lighting of candles. The emotive memory of the event, over twenty years later, hinges on two sets of spatial productions interacting with their physical context. One, an unmaking of the built environment, a reversal of its functional logic, in the crowd's appropriation of the street and park. The other, a remaking of space through a series of tiny, multiple and poetic gestures, bodily gestures: walking, voicing, lighting candles, gathering.

Although this march was an exceptional, rather than an everyday event, it mirrored - sped up, amplified, made poetic - the process by which cities are transformed over time and through social agency. Despite the scale of the issue at stake, the potential to address it from a single point - a gestural, relational presence in space - suggested a point of entry into social change.

Although the political settlements that led to democratic elections in 1994 ended discriminatory laws, the cities of South Africa continued to transform, often through the self-managed practices that arose both despite and through resistance to apartheid. At the same time architecture as a profession tended to withdraw from such changes. Living through this transition has given me a profound first-hand experience of spatial change and underscores my interrogations of the role of architecture in contexts of social transformation. The fundamental challenge that this context poses is that of bridging between the two vastly diverse conventions of making space that the ideology of apartheid reinforced. One way shapes space by formal conventions, through abstract principles that became embedded in the geometry of the physical environment¹. The other is formed by people's direct agency. These two conditions reflect a racially and technically striated environment, one that created a particularly distorted condition in which the making of buildings and the using of them fell to different groups of people.

¹ Apartheid spatial languages coincided both conceptually and in time with those of international modernism. Japha (1986) explains this parallel in the design of townships and housing, but equally, public buildings and suburbs were designed with direct reference to Western modernist models.

The first system of modernist, segregated planning is unsustainable and leaves behind many forms of wastage and unfulfilled potentials. The subsequent use is ephemeral and not consolidated into a formal alternative to the modernist city. But imagining social and physical change together is critical in effecting real change in the post-apartheid context. Social change through political emancipation is ineffectual without spatial transformation. In a place where space has been so instrumental in disempowerment, this is particularly urgent. As many writers (Harrison et al., 2008, Judin et al., 1998, Dewar and Todeschini, 2003, Christopher, 1994) have observed, the entrenched spatialities of the apartheid city are obstacles to lived integration.

Yet despite the theorisation of better alternatives, many of the spaces actually constructed in the last decade as the first moves in remaking the post-apartheid city have failed to act as emancipatory institutions. The resistance to allowing South African cities to change seems to lie in a post-colonial mindset, one that appears to be ashamed of the repressed cultures of the colonised. The emphasis of architecture after apartheid is on design solutions that imagine a needy citizenry (Tissington, 2011), and on grand, representational projects (Noble, 2011, le Roux, 2008b) that fail to have a lasting effect on everyday lives. The informal actions by citizens to make homes and livelihoods are marginalised, and so remain highly vulnerable to removal and repression. This ongoing split in ways of making and their unequal status are obstacles to the creation of a richer, integrated city.

Within the context of South Africa, the tensions that exist between the binarised worlds of space making open up possibilities for design to act in an evocative - and hence critical - way. Critical design practices can introduce a *scale* into this context, following Neil Smith (1992), that crosses between “the abstract” (which he defines, following Lefebvre and Harvey, as vacant modernist space and forms) and “the lived” (social space and its traces). In a context of difference such as South African cities, critical design needs to work between these physical scales and geometries, as well as their temporalities. As it mediates between the spatial platforms and frames constructed in the spaces left by modernist planning and the emerging urban cultures of its dwellers, it creates a degree of ambivalence in either direction. Rendering modernism’s legacy as something vacant, open to new meanings, critical design undermines its function as merely a support for production, and so suggests a new cultural potential for its de-signified forms. At the same time, by intensifying the presence of the fleeting and optimistic use of space that happens in acts of appropriation by marginal communities, critical design can project an image of other potential forms of life.

2.3 the touchstone of Africa

The binary between the abstract and the lived is perhaps most lucid in post-colonial urban Africa. The consequence of Africa’s unexpectedly rapid decolonisation, and of more than forty years of economic austerity after the 1970’s is that here, the abstract frame of modernism is often full of the life of its unintended uses. The consequences are the

touchstone for this project. After 1990, South Africans were allowed to enter African countries that they had been barred from during apartheid. Through exposure to some of these countries - Zimbabwe, Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, Morocco and Mozambique - I came to understand that the post-colonial period had produced a steady transformation of colonial infrastructure through unpredicted processes of use. Buildings and spaces originally constructed through colonial investment (Richards, 1961, Lu, 2011, Rabinow, 1989, le Roux, 2002, de Meulder, 2000) were paralleled with the growth of informal settlements. As visiting architecture critic Udo Kultermann observed in 1969 “‘temporary’ districts...have been put up by the millions in Africa, and – although intended for temporary use – have become permanent housing: the bidonvilles, the tin-can towns, and similar shanties at the edges of urban centres stand as testimony...”(1963:22). In other words, from the start, modern urbanisation in Africa co-produced informal and formal orders of living.

Some of the colonial architects had even documented informal spaces in admiration for their spatial ingenuity and agency, and used these images in critical exhibition projects back home (Avermaete et al., 2010, Cohen and Eleb, 2002). Such ambivalent reflections cast doubt on the utopian ideals often associated with the project of modernism in Africa during colonialism (Kultermann, 1963, Richards, 1961, Fry and Drew, 1956), while sparking an assessment of modernist city in Africa as a porous, rather than a totalitarian project. Around this time, as the colonial period came to an end, and many of the architects withdrew, their constructed legacy began to integrate with the indigenous and self-constructed city. Despite the anti-colonial rhetoric of the 1950's and 60's (Fanon, 1963, Enwezor, 2001), and the withdrawal of colonial investment², the infrastructure from the colonial era remained in place and so participated in the often unforeseen and creative ways that the city was reshaped.

The term *lived modernism* describes this dualistic reality. As the managed uses of spaces shrunk, the resultant voids allowed new uses. At the same time, with increasingly permissive political environments and demographic changes, people and economies entered the city in numbers and networks beyond the limits imagined in the planned stage of modern cities (Linard et al., 2013, Angel et al., 2013). Loose assemblages of people and networks moving within contemporary urban systems have replaced the localized organizations - companies, residential communities, institutions, communications and transport systems - that were the object of modernist planning (Chabal and Daloz, 1999, de Boeck and Plissart, 2004, Simone, 2004a). These emergent entities often work without the means or the will to invest in new permanent spaces. They engage instead with existing city's voids and strata in the way a *bricoleur* uses material at hand to solve a problem: temporarily, practically, economically, and without care for its original order (Lévi-Strauss, 1966).

² By the mid-1970's, most of Africa's independent nations were indebted to private banks and other Western funds, commodity prices were falling and without access to capital, investment in public building slowed to a halt (SACHS, J. 2005. *The End of Poverty*, London, Penguin Press.).

The resulting moments of change are socially and visually diverse, and above all, strategic forms of spatial use. The reoccupied spaces of the city often feel dysfunctional but also contain moments of extraordinary fit between contexts and activities. In these situations, neither the modernist term, *form follows function* nor the description of the vernacular as an organic *habitus* can fully describe the coming into being of lived space. Concrete form and social space display a dialogic, mutually transformative interrelationship.

Recent documentary projects including a considerable body of photographic, filmic and mapping work on African cities stress their social and relational richness today (Simone, 2004b, Pieterse and Simone, 2013, de Boeck and Plissart, 2004, Map Kibera, 2009, Tipple, 2000, Williams, 2014). This shift in documentation of the city from its physical frame to its social subjects gives evidence of the compelling presence that this lived modernist space creates. In present day African cities, human agency is extreme in its manifestations and uncontrolled by bureaucracy, a predictive mirror of the way that in the West practices of appropriation are carried out within a more regulated context but at an ever faster rate (Ruby and Ruby, 2008, Boeri, 2003, MACAO, 2012, Koolhaas, 2005).

2.4 the Crisis

The changes in the global practice of architecture in the wake of the financial crisis identified in 2008 (Stiglitz, 2012, Latouche, 2009, Schouten, 2008) have parallels with the changes in African cities since independence. Both represent a similar economic condition, in which the capital investment in the growth that is at the core of modernism has been curtailed. The cutting back of credit to Western economies shrunk the architecture profession's built output enormously but at the same time precipitated an interest in reuse, and in social capital-intensive alternatives to new building projects (Christiaanse and Baum, 2013, Tonkiss, 2013, Rietveld Landscape, 2010, ZUS, 2009). There are growing parallels between everyday practices emerging in the West today and those established in Africa for over 50 years, whether through the protest actions of the Occupy movement (Massey and Snyder, 2012), the re-emergence of informal housing in large cities (Perry, 2013), the resurgence of interest in allotments and guerrilla gardening (Krasny, 2013) or the growth in New Social Movements and their appropriation of post-industrial spaces for social centres (Petrescu et al., 2010, Krivy, 2011)³.

³ The spaces re-appropriated in these Western examples often goes back further in time than in African cities, indicating that any space has the potential for reuse. For instance, Rossi (1982) has documented such changes in the European city within the ruins of Roman buildings. My emphasis on documenting modernist space in Africa as a site of reuse relates firstly to the scale of that fabric of those sub-Saharan African cities that I have visited and documented, in which the material remains of modernism represent an unprecedented and, since colonialism, an unrepeatable layer of the city. It secondly relates to the extent of self-organisation in the process of reuse at these sites.

3. aims

3.1 modifying modernism

Just as the growth and definition of architecture as a professional activity is tied to the growth of cities in modernist period (Cuff, 1992), so the renewal of architecture as social practice lies in a critical renewal of modernism. The discussion within critical theory of modernism as an ambivalent project has been richly summarized and discussed by Heynen (1999). Globally, modernism was and is a simultaneously emancipatory and fragmenting experience. The intention, then, is to understand the relation between the structuring and resistant aspects of modernism, rather than to take sides for or against it.

It is hard to deny that modernism's utopian goals of access, housing and hygiene for all remain relevant to the under-serviced, fragmented and often oppressive conditions of the African city. Even modernism as debris has value, as a mental and physical infrastructure that dominates the city even in its abandoned and fragmented forms. However the unforeseen practices which work realistically within the conditions thrown up by the application of modernism, particularly in Africa, have a critical value as well. In between the extremes of seeing modernism as failure, or as a project to be upscaled⁴, there is a rich middle ground that sees modernism as a site of creative afterlives.

3.2 starting with the minor

The scale of renewal that interests me is minor, although multiple, and it is sited in a specific context: the consequences of modernism. An important insight that supported my choice of scale and context lies in Bourriaud's articulation of the shift of creative practices from modernist to *relational aesthetics* (2002). He refers to and turns around Lyotard's condemnation of post-modernism for its capacity for only "minor modifications" and proposing instead such modifications as the very stuff of meaningful creative work. This shift expands creativity into a form of social work. In the place, as well as in the ruins of modernism, one finds a more convincing attempt by people to make and live better lives. A vivid, if ephemeral, set of images and relationships comes to the fore in relational aesthetics, just as in *lived modernism*. These images function as narratives with the potential to inspire audiences and so amplify their physical scale.

Using such narratives - visual, written and performed - I argue that in the transition between the space of modernism and its appropriation over time by a new community, there are new potentials for creative intervention. My main aim is to explore the critical potentials of this transitional process. The secondary aim is to go beyond a theoretical position to generate change through designerly work, material practice and advocacy. The project as a whole tests the

⁴ I refer here to the problematic spread of new towns and projects in many parts of Africa, which ignore existing fabrics and scale up the insertion of new infrastructures and greenfields urbanism.

proposition that such work can enrich architecture as a practice as it reuses and outlives modernism, and finds renewed meaning in the process.

3.3 emancipatory narratives

The capacity for minor modifications also lies in the hands of ordinary people and so, as models, these micro-projects can become potential and direct symbols of the desire to live differently. In the same way that, in the Western world at least, the camping site differs from the city on multiple ways, with the camp being self-constructed, ecologically less disruptive, physically more challenging, socially more dynamic and often, a happier way of being, minor modifications can critique a constructed *status quo*. They form experiments that play a powerful role in our individual and collective imaginations.

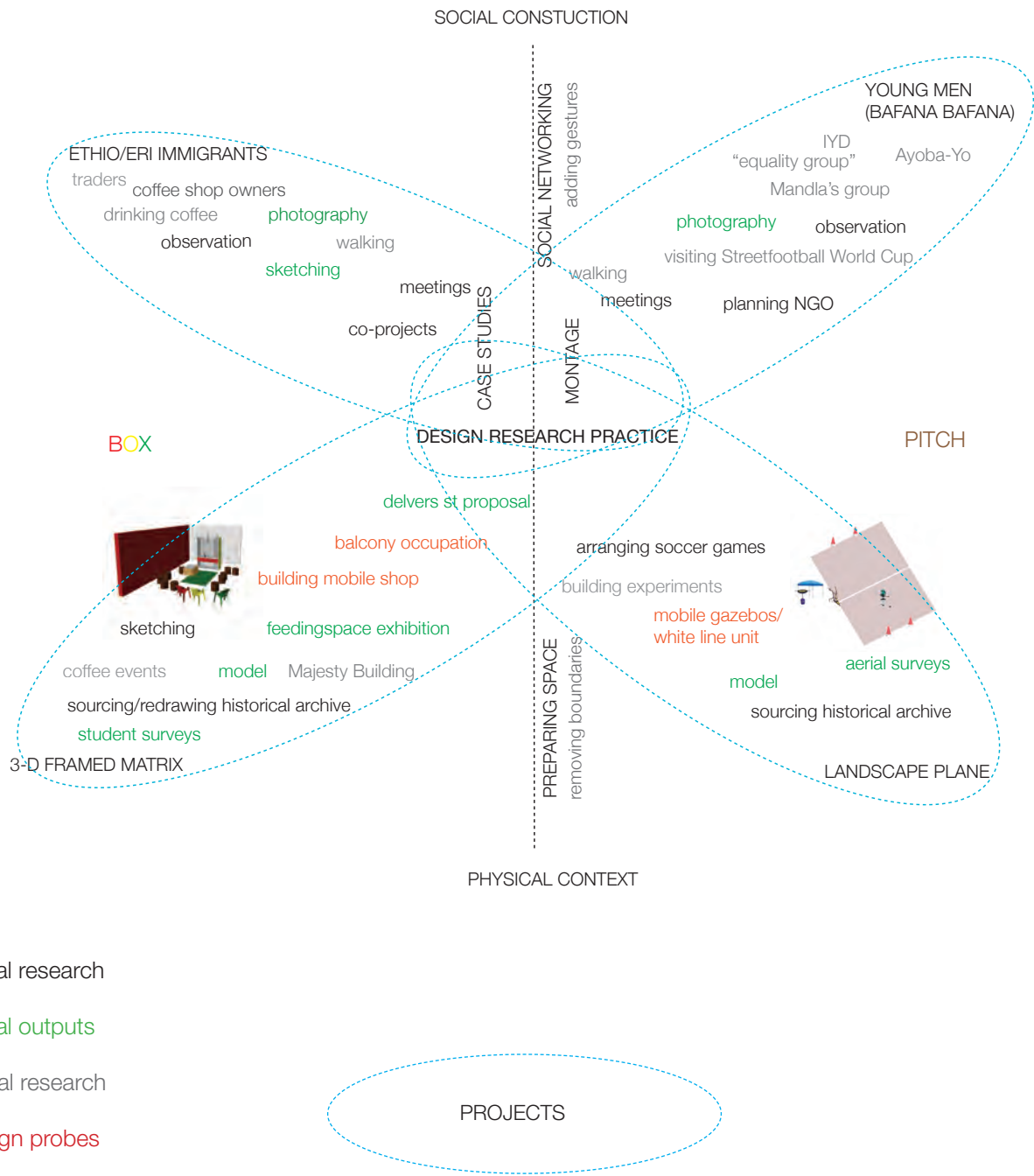
In the context of South Africa, where the existing constructed environment was overwhelmingly designed as an exclusionary space, using modernist forms (Japha, 1986), the power of even minor modifications can be particularly evocative. As Ernssten (2012) has observed, the act of reuse in this context is a narrative act which rescripts spaces associated with separation as spaces for coming together. In South Africa, in line with other contexts, architecture as a profession has transformed very slowly from a service rendered to state and private clientele to a direct service to the public at large. Minor projects are a way of addressing the need for a freely aligned public realm⁵. The modification of space via these alternative routes represents a tiny fraction of public spending but often creates the projects of reinvention most visible in the media and public imagination.

Minor changes represent a third and realistic path for spatial renewal that is neither dependent on an idealist, unaffordable notion of an African welfare state, nor burdened by the costs and controls of commercial development. They also require new ways of working that depart from existing systems of procurement which relate professional fees to the value of new construction⁶. The value of existing social capital and material investment and the cost of loss needs to be valued as part of a project, along with the material and labour content of new construction.

⁵ Although the *apartheid* state is formally dead, the spending of public funds on infrastructure is generally not subject to public participation and mechanisms of choice in South Africa. The formal funding of alternative, participatory spatial practices happens most visibly through European institutes such as IFAS, the Goethe Institute and the Prince Claus Fund as well as through non-governmental, community based initiatives.

⁶ As raised in discussions around the 2011 conference comparing Flemish Government Architect and South Africa Public Works systems, the creation of intermediary agencies whose role it is to define and resource appropriate scaled works, and to research alternative approaches to the normative model, is a prerequisite to sustaining this genre of work (Bawa et al., 2011)

1



4. approach

grounded in a material and precise knowledge of physical and social context, developed through documentary practice;
focussed on the phenomenon of reuse, specifically with a (potential) Commons constructed during the period of Modernism in Africa and beyond;
articulated reflective and discursive practice

(from Joint Doctoral Seminar poster, 2008).

4.1 a constructed methodology

I coined the term “a constructed methodology” to describe the approaches used in this doctorate. Alluding to the idea of Constructivism⁷, as a practice that stresses the intersections between schemata, materiality and dialogue, the term describes two qualities of the project. The first is the way that the thesis methodology was constructed from a mixture of approaches. The other is that it literally involves the construction of three projects. As a result it is alternately a practice-led, reflective and practice-based project.

The methodological design was loosely guided by, and relates to, elements of Gray and Malins' (2004) guide to research in arts and design. Gray and Malins are particularly supportive of intersecting multiple research methods: “triangulation helps us get a ‘fix’ on something in order to understand more fully the complexity of issues by examining them from different perspectives, and by generating data in different ways by different methods” (2004:31). This triangulation in method was matched with an implicit triangulation in the supervision of this work between theory, strategic urbanism and architectural practice and the forms that conversations with each promoter took. These triangular aspects of the project were, however, inseparable at any particular point. Rather, the mode of describing the project through three sections, relating to the urban and strategic context, a theoretical model, and three projects is a necessary separation and not a linear process. It simply groups together aspects of work that privilege documentation, reflection, and projects, which are articulated as ‘design probes’⁸.

⁷ Constructivism as a term applies to a teaching perspective and learning theory as well as a social science research paradigm (Gray and Malins, 2004). The same term is given to an arts movement from revolutionary Russia (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constructivism>).

⁸ The term design probes comes from Anthony Dunne and Fiona Raby, as an element in the field they term critical design (Dunne 1999). Design probes are experiments in connective potentials as well as observational prisms for human interactions. Their intention is not to solve a functional design problem but to evoke responses that offer insight into relational behaviour between objects and people, and people with each other. The term is interchangeable with what I call “transforms”.

This division of what is ultimately a single work, in that it is arranged to cohere, into sections that privilege certain techniques over others, is a necessary but somewhat artificial construct. In mechanical terms the circular research approach of the whole is similar to Schön's idea of reflective practice. Schön argues that reflection-in-action enhances the interactivity between situation and professional, and so constructs new insights along the path of design and building that enable innovation (Schön, 1983). However over and above reflection-in-action there are elements of reflection-on-action and reflection-on-reflection.

The interrelated documentary, theoretical and designerly approaches converge around the definition of *lived modernism*, both as a found and an analogous critical practice. It begins with the observation of this reuse of modernism and culminates with two new design probes applying this approach at two sites, the first in the township⁹ of KwaThema and the latter in the inner city of Johannesburg. The two projects are named PITCH (the KwaThema soccer project) and Bunna Bet¹⁰ Jeppe (*Habesha*¹¹ inner city buildings).

Although small, these projects span a greater scope of work and relationships than a conventional commission. A normal point of entry in architecture begins with a client and a brief. In a poor community this might come through the intervention of a state or non-governmental organization. However these projects are fully autonomous, created for this doctorate with only the guidance and sometimes collaboration of the individual contacts made at each site. They are not commissioned, nor guided by an existing framework or organisation. These projects were brought about solely through the investment of the time of both parties involved at each site and the very limited capital involved. I did have some money for this project, through grants that were sourced from the Goethe Institute, a Carnegie transformation grant and the National Research Foundation, but that collectively were not substantial enough to construct even a small building or pay the fees of a professional. My own time was subsidized by a teaching post with occasional leave to work on the projects.

For these reasons, the process of design starts with much smaller physical ambitions than an architecture commission. Its creative period is grounded in the research and design traditions of architecture, but continues to develop beyond that practice to include the manufacture and use of the micro-projects, as well as proposing future projects that scale them up.

⁹ The term township refers to residential areas "defined as areas that were designated under apartheid legislation for exclusive occupation by people classified as Africans, Coloureds and Indians" SHIKASA 2009. Township Transformation Timeline. In: NEL, M. (ed.). Johannesburg.

¹⁰ *Bunna bet* is the Amharic term for "coffee shop" (http://wikitravel.org/en/Amharic_phrasebook)

¹¹ *Habesha* refers to the diasporic communities from the countries of Ethiopia and Eritrea.

The document uses four different types of representation of the probes. Each was developed through a few iterations to tackle the question of representing change through different formats, in ways that are complementary. These are, generically, *scenes*, which are photographs of particularly important moments in the projects' development; *diagrams*, specifically change diagrams and timelines, which annotate the process of change either through the analysis of interrelationships or of temporal development; *narratives*, using photostrips to show a context or situation in a filmic way; and *project drawings*, which are more conventional set of plans, designs, details, materials and sketches that describe the design. These different genres create a retrospective image of the projects that allows a post-facto understanding of their dynamics within a range of social and spatial dimensions.

Within the document, diagramming is particularly important as a non-verbal method to capture and reflect on both process and spatial dynamics, such as interactions between social and physical actors, timelines, and spatial dimensions. It allows an overview of elements of the project that in practice had been tackled independently. The narratives that pull these moments together are critical in understanding and reflecting on the designerly process of assimilating diverse ways of thinking and acting into something that feels coherent.

The minimal visual style of the images is influenced by the work of artists, designers and academics who choose to represent relationships between people, place and time (Till et al., 2011, van Hyswijk, Hutton, 2006) I have also referred to modernist graphic design, and in particular *basic design*, as a practice for clarifying the complexity of process (Tufte, 1990, Bill et al., 2001, Swart, 2013).

4.2 design research

In reflecting on the approach of the project, while executing it, I have referred to the expanding literature around design research. The field of design research is fast expanding from the often-mechanical descriptions of methods (Jonas, 2001, Buchanan, 1992) to react to perspectives drawn from, for instance, the Humanities (Hughes, 2006). This later literature is more resonant with my project in its acceptance of narrative as a strategy both guiding and explaining design decisions. Given its departure from a visual ethnographic approach, which in turn come from a lived experience of spatial exclusion and rupture in relation to modernism, my design approach is quite different to the laboratory-like conditions that characterise some of the literature of design research¹². In other words, it situates itself in a context which is not equal, tidy or ahistorical.

Nonetheless the project is indebted to the idea that design research sometimes has unique aims, approaches and forms. Nigel Cross motivates for the acceptance of difference in the ways in which design creates knowledge,

¹² This difference with the approach of, for instance, Chow and Jonas, manifest itself in a polemical debate around methods in the 2009 conference, Communicating (by) Design.

specifically in the way that it creates newness, and the role of intuition in its complex processes. Acknowledging that the appropriate paradigm for design research is still under construction, he makes it clear that his touchstone is that there are “designerly ways of knowing” (Cross 2007:11).

The separation of design from scientific or humanities research, or art, is sometimes characterised by its orientation towards the construction of something in the future, rather than reflection on existing phenomena. Jonas is an insightful theorist of the ends and processes involved in getting there through design, and has developed models that describe them (2001; 2009; Grand and Jonas 2012). His understanding is that design is an expert discipline at “integration, relation and meaning” (2001:66). These processes, applied in relation to “fuzzy criteria”, create scenarios. In moving towards a “solution”, manifest as a scenario, design involves feedback between forward-oriented, action based “practices” and backward-oriented reflection and theories. Jonas (2009:8) notes that this is similar to teaching. In particular, these processes are resonant with Action Research which is primarily an educational research paradigm (Knowles 2008). Jonas identifies three important stages in this common, circular learning process: ANALYSIS - PROJECTION - SYNTHESIS. The middle stage of PROJECTION involves Pierce’s “abduction”, a form of thinking that constructs newness. Jonas (2001) models this process of the double loop of design thinking that emerges when design is simultaneously practiced and critically appraised through diagrams (see page 71).

If normative design involves intuitive, non-verbal and often under-theorised “ways of knowing”, and a temporal process, accessing this process and refining it has to take on different modes to classical analytical thinking. Schön (1983) is often acknowledged as one of the first close observers of the professions to articulate the reflexive processes at work in their practices, through “an analysis of the distinctive structure of reflection-in-action” (1983:ix). Schön’s motivation was to understand how individuals and organisations, in the context of societies in change, were able to adapt by reflecting on their own professional practices to reform those practices and their own identities. The nature of their reflection was to see, in relatively fast and unarticulated ways, each new situation as related - through theory, metaphor or images - to familiar ones. Their reflection-in-action made them adaptive, while building up a coherent repertoire of strategies. Schön falls short of explaining how this reflection-in-action can be translated back into traditional forms of reflection, and this issue has become fundamental for the assessment of designerly practice in the academy.

As an early mentor of practice based design research in architecture, Van Schaik likewise understands design practice as something that can be sharpened through an alternately intertwined and parallel reflective practice. His mentoring-based research has collaboratively produced more specific and extensively documented cases of reflection on architectural design than those of Schön. Considering what he terms “spatial intelligence” (2008) to be innate, he suggests accessing and sharpening this intuitive and individual resource through autobiographical

reflection and poetic articulation on personal bodies of practice. Touchstones from artistic productions and literature are taken seriously in this model as a reference for practice. In parallel to other explanations, Van Schaik's use of ideograms (Hendrickx et al., 2008:79), which include the observer, and use both textual and spatial elements to interrelate actions and artefactual elements to model the practice of design research allows for insight into moments of innovation within practice.

Buchanan (Buchanan, 2007) articulates an analogous focus for reflection in the strategy of Design Inquiry, which he sees as an explanation on the part of designers and people who use their objects. Avoiding theory, this strategy "may emphasize the inventive and creative power of the designer and his or her ability to effect social change through argument and communication, whether in words or in products" (2007:58). This strategy is also closely involved in the "discipline of design" through observation of designed things in terms of their production and use. Buchanan also asserts that design is a relational practice: "It is the connections, not what is connected, that signifies a strategy. Better understanding of what is connected and why it is significantly connected is the goal of inquiry" (2007:59).

While pre-Schön theorisations of design research focussed on notions of "solutions" and problems, more recent insights see the process of design as the construction of alternative scenarios, including critical ones. This shift aligns design research with critical theory, since the impetus for alternative worlds aligns with an anti-hegemonic agenda. DiSalvo (2009) notes the rise in politically motivated experiments in design: "Since the late 1990s, there has been a proliferation of projects that examine and experiment with the capability and role of design (broadly construed) in increasing societal awareness, and motivating and enabling political action." He questions how new (and potentially active) publics can be created through design. Citing Dewey's definition of publics, he notes that multiple publics may co-exist in space, and design can serve as a communicative element that allows their formation and dialogue.

Amongst the case studies that DiSalvo evokes is the work of Dunne and Raby, whose articulated, and self-style "critical design research" (Seago and Dunne 1999; Dunne 2005; Dunne and Raby 2011) acts as a provocation rather than - or as much as - a solution. They work between theoretical and constructive practice to put objects into the world as a way of effecting and observing shifts in behavior. The form of the object is intentionally provocative in terms of their semantic openness: "Ambiguity and openness are the keys. We don't view the object as a transmitter of meaning to be decoded by a viewer, but as a prompt, a thing to be engaged with...We hope that people believe our pieces could be part of this world, and that their subtle strangeness intrigues rather than repels." (Dunne and Raby 2011).

Dunne and Raby's process of working lies within the discipline of design but in ways that separate out the instrumentality of the object in relation to its use. Conceiving of use as an open category, their critical design process

tries to keep the mediation on use that is involved in design open, shifting the object's role from something that determines use to one that is open to use(s) in a multiple, even ironic way. In the process, the ideological consequences of design are loosened, and the object becomes ambivalent. Their approach is comparable to that of Studio Makkink Bey, whose projects (Bey 2012) are imagined around sociability and collaboration between diverse users, as well as around interactions between people and the environment. Although the precise definition of those relations is left open, the projects aim to design and link furniture scaled products with the architectural and urban scale. Dunne and Raby and some of Makkink Bey's designs can be described as probes, experiments in connective potentials as well as observational prisms for human interactions.

The concept of a probe has allowed me to read the value of my pilot KwaThema Project as research, in that it is material for reflection, that through the passage of time can be seen in relation to its intentions and in an afterlife. Seeing the design process and output as probes allows me to suspend judgement about the success or failure of the design to directly produce betterment in welfarist terms, and to focus instead on the aligned and unexpected relations that it set up. This perspective contributes to the agenda for the design work in this project, allowing me to propose projects that generate alternative scenarios through design. Given their possibly un-realizable status in current conditions, the critical value of these projects outweighs their value in an immediate, welfarist sense¹³. They are also not primarily oriented towards the creation of solutions that one can walk away from. Instead, they propose scenarios that in turn pose questions as to the possibility of different social trajectories, different forms of control, or the value of alternative economies as well as, most critically, different ways of designing. This shift in emphasis from design as a solution, through design as process, to design as a probe, requires iteration not only of achievements but also of the "impossibilities" of the scenarios imagined.

In summary, the influence of design research in my approach has been the emphasis on using design critically, in much the same way that critical theory can act on the world of knowledge by highlighting and re-imagining different conditions of power. This critique has a double effect through the self-critical act of reflection on what is done, and the consequence of doing design differently. Design in action works between scales, communities, relationships and artefacts in ways that try to imagine how other conditions might alter their given status. In the process, design creates images of alternative consequences of things and processes, under conditions that may only exist momentarily.

¹³ The project does not deny the value of welfare and the historical basis for its existence. In particular in South Africa there is a desperate need for intervention in the cycles of poverty, inequality and spatial disparity that accompanied the projects of colonialism, Imperialism and apartheid. My avoidance of the idea of designing "solutions" is more to do with the way that such interventions are often palliative rather than emancipatory, and self-congratulating rather than critical of the value of the existing field of design itself. My point is that design requires more awareness of existing conditions of transformation that exist in its site of operation, and to begin from a point of reading these conditions as something to build on.

5. structure

5.1 Part I: reviewing (lived) modernism

Existing practice, whether everyday or through the agency of designers, has often formed a critique of modernist space, and developed multiple strategies to engage with its context. This text begins with the documentation of existing practices as the basis for reflection through diagrammed, reflective processes.

The first section of this part is made up of three photo-essays. Two present images of everyday and designed spaces in use in Johannesburg and West Africa, drawing on my personal archive of photographs. The third montages wireframe perspectives and images of the political struggles in South Africa in the 1980's, drawn from the media (Hirsch, 2002). They represent concrete references for my work, both as material for analysis and as exemplary practices. The second part records three discussions that took place between practitioners during the course of the project. These discussions considered the relatively understated nature of practices that engage with modernism, whether professionalised or based in the arts. The last section considers a dozen built case studies, drawn from a broad set of contexts, that relate to my design practice. All involve the reuse of modernist space and the construction of new communities. This section uses a comparative approach to narrate the similarities and flexibility within different approaches to projects across scale and contexts.

5.2 Part II: modernism | transforms | architecture

The next part is a theoretical description of the creative process at work in projects that engage with transformation. I suggest they have a lineage that goes back to early modernism in the practice of minimalism, applied and revived through three generations, and its relationship with social change. The present impetus for transformational design comes after the failure of the “strong” architecture of the later modernist period and in the face of social emergence at unprecedented scales. My own creative process, modelled on *lived modernism*, is likewise aligned with intertwined aesthetic and social projects of emancipation.

This part analyses the creative work processes of four practitioners from three generations, and interprets their creative strategies in relation to their formal affinities and social agendas. By using diagramming as an analytical tool, I elaborate on the term *transforms* as a common descriptor. Both verb and noun, *transforms* describes a commonality in their and my own creative process, a trope, in other words, that has the capacity to condense change. I discuss how the diagram of *transforms* can be used to represent and conceptualise the actions, relations and objects that made up these creative processes.

5.3 Part III: practice transforms

The third section describes three projects, the practice-based research developed in the doctorate. Each is contextualised spatially and in terms of its actors, then described in terms of a timeline of research processes, events and designerly scenarios. A reflective section then elaborates on the approach through a mixture of design images and texts.

The first, the KwaThema Project, completed in 2007 as a collaborative studio with assistants and students (le Roux, 2007a, le Roux, 2008a) formed the impetus and the schematic model for the later PhD projects. The Kwathema Project was designed to intersect historical and action research approaches as a way to understand the “politics of design” as called for in its grant brief (Spitz, 2012). This seven week long project is introduced through discussion of these contexts and its process. This text describes a conflictual moment that arose between the project funders and students participating in the project, representing a tension between formalist and welfarist approaches to design. The resolution gave me a moment of insight, to seek the moment in the design process within which neither formal nor social control dominate, but are rather interrelated in its resolution. The section concludes with a reflection on the designerly and representational strategies that were collaboratively evolved in this project.

The second and third sections narrate the two new projects, PITCH and Bunna Bet Jeppe. Both projects were conceived and executed over a long period of time, in relation to shifting situations, as the consequence of the intermittent work on these projects between other commitments. The two projects each involve the development of scenarios and prototypes, and the development of a network of subjects, that culminate in a proposal for implementation. This project documentation will be augmented with larger images, timelines and full scale design elements in the final exhibition of the project, which is schematically represented in the appendix of the text.

5.4 notes on formatting

There are parallels between the various design approaches, documented works and new projects in this document. The two new projects are however, quite different to each other and to the pilot one. To create parallels and distinctions between projects and reflective texts, I have used paper coding. The bulk of the documentation is printed on a 100% recycled, unbleached paper. This is punctuated with coloured and glossy white paper which codes and emphasises images that have a particular importance in their own right. These are the scenes and the project documentation, which are on papers with a quality relating to the project that they introduce. The scenes and background drawings of the KwaThema project are printed on grey unwaxed paper that relates to the concrete structure of the Beerhall. The PITCH project is printed on an oxide tinted paper that recalls the earth of the fields. The

BunnaBet Jeppe project is printed on a gloss white paper that recalls the glazed coffee cups that are central to the project, as well as the glazed tiles and synthetic wall panelling popular in the area.

5.5 project location

The path of this project involved joint site work between my home in Johannesburg, South Africa, and Belgium. The bulk of the comparative work is international in its orientation, while the project work was extremely localised, in relatively marginalised areas of the inner city and the far East Rand townships. The seminar in Ghent, and the final iteration of the BunnaBet project in Belgium were intended to blur this division between (southern) performative projects and (northern) analytical work.

below: locations of the projects and urban centres in the Witwatersrand



I. REVIEWING (LIVED) MODERNISM

1. modes of (re)viewing

The reuse of modernist space ranges along a spectrum of practices, from the everyday to the professionalised. This section researches this phenomenon by taking three different modes of observation and presentation: photo-essays from fieldwork images, disciplinary discussions, and case studies.

The image of the afterlife of modern architecture that I have documented in Africa is a moving narrative of found spaces reused without architects. These are constructed engagements with space based on necessity, driven by direct action, and are largely unarticulated practices¹⁴. I have approached such sites through documentation of the sites as found, using photography, mapping and some degree of discussion.

Then there are the contemporary projects that are initiated by the owners or managers of modernist structures and environments, using architects who engage with this task with a certain reluctance. Their reaction to the task of preserving or changing the given site is often ambivalent, and their projects are sometimes tentative in relation to the perceived obstacle of the existing modernist frame. This form of designerly practice is usually more articulate in terms of what is newly added, and less affirming of what is reused or included¹⁵. I found this unnamed and unglamorous category of architectural work interesting, and have engaged with it through direct discussions with some architects, urbanists and critics. These discussions took the form of seminars, themselves located at times in reused modernist spaces¹⁶. The sites, participants and sites referred to are listed as an appendix to this document.

The third form of practice takes the reuse of modernist space as an opportunity for designerly creativity. It is in the strategies at work in a selection of a dozen projects from this body of work, reviewed through consideration of the projects themselves, that I have found approaches parallel to and applicable to my own practice.

¹⁴ There are exceptions to the lack of descriptive documentation in ethnographies that reflect on Africa's spatial change in the spatially attentive narratives of a handful of researchers, such as Ginsburg (1996), Tipple (2000), and more recently theses such as de Nijs (2013).

¹⁵ Where the modernist building is considered an exceptional design, there is a prestige value to its preservation through reuse, but in the case of everyday environments this is seldom the case.

¹⁶ The final exhibition likewise was located in the remodelled, found modernist space of the Sint Lucas campus in Brussels. Against my preference for the exhibition to be a living, discursive space for coffee and debate, the timing of the exhibition meant it was primarily a visual presentation.

2. documentary: the other lives of African modernism

2.1 overview

“What is being constructed in this reconstruction is not a new space but a new encounter with space, in time. Paralleling the hawkers insertion of stalls into the flow of pedestrians to construct a receptive market by creating delays in the circulatory system of pavements, the recommissioning of these spaces emerges from a strategic inter play between third and fourth dimensions: by the interruption of the uses in time envisaged in modernism with minimal physical changes, or by the invasion of the space produced by modernism with significant events. Paralleling the advertisers’ insertion of billboards alongside an axis of movement, it is the strategic layering of contingent images in time and space onto an existing city that constructs a new imaginative realm.

Is this architecture or post-architecture?, as Virilio asks. Certainly a nostalgia for *that* architecture, in its stable, fixed and given dimensions underscores the pursuits of these new practices. It remains a historical homeland, and the icons through which it is represented are certainly increasingly treasured. But *this* architecture, that visits and colonises other disciplines and conventions, in search of a (temporary) site to erect its own minimal signs of arrival, has migrated out of necessity. Its identity remains unstable, even illegal, as it goes about its business in a difficult place. But its presence holds out the promise of a new formation, an overlaid order, that responds to the changing, emergent, and fluid.”

(le Roux, 1999)

There is no substitute for the lived experience of change, but images are a way of holding it up to some scrutiny. This section presents three photo-essays that capture moments in the post-constructed lives of modernist space in Africa. I habitually travel with a camera. My photography is not crafted as a representation in its own right and its quality remains just adequate for the functional role of documentation. Over time, in reflecting on the images I have taken in the field, I have become more sensitive to the record they hold of ephemeral spatial practices that lie outside of the formally constructed frame constituted by the modernist city. In so doing, photography has become the trace through which I visualise the power of human gestures of belonging and connectivity, that interrupt the sense of functionalist order constructed in the modernist city.

The ethics of documentary photography in contexts of vulnerable human subjects have to be taken into account in such work, so that informed consent can be obtained in taking and publishing people’s photographs. Clear guidelines exist on the methods and practices of ethnographic visual research (Pink, 2006, Emmison and Smith,

2000). In taking earlier images of modern architecture Africa I was often oblivious to the rights of the people who I had inadvertently photographed. My current approach is to try to capture the consequences of human spatial agency rather than people themselves, but where this is unavoidable, verbal permission or editing is used to protect vulnerable human subjects. Other than taking photographs, I have also collected artefacts from people (through asking and/or buying similar objects) to record some of the elements used in spatial change. They represent concrete references for my work, both as material for analysis and as exemplary practices.

The first set is drawn from an archive of photographs I took in West Africa in 2000 and 2002. These images come from the documentation of historical buildings designed by British modernist architects. The appearance of other lives in these buildings, along with the general sense of the original building's loss of initial purpose, was an unintended but evocative discovery.

The second set is montaged images of the political struggles in South Africa in the 1980's, drawn from news footage (Hirsch, 2002). I undertook this project to present to a student-run conference (le Roux, 2005b). The forms of the struggle against apartheid were no longer familiar to the student generation. I used these images to represent the extent of ephemeral gestures, from political marches to simple domestic ones that could be said to have constituted forms of spatial agency in resisting apartheid's spatial controls.

The last set is images taken in Johannesburg in the late 1990's, during the period of transition from the white-led control of the city to its current management structures. In this hiatus of governance and in line with the post-apartheid sense of empowerment, people who had been excluded from the city took the opportunity to establish an economic foothold in the formerly white tenanted and tightly managed inner city areas. The images were taken as a way to represent and reflect on the forms of spatial practice used by the various trading stalls, portable restaurants, phone shops and transport of the time. The tactical practices of the newcomers were in contrast to the immobile and powerful spatial investment that buildings represent. In a reflective essay (le Roux, 1999) I considered the temporal and strategic thinking behind this kind of insurgent space as its significant and innovative qualities.

The backwards (counter-chronological) representation of this documentary work is a way of unearthing a theme that has long concerned me. As a set of images from memory and even childhood practice, such experiences go back further in time than these projects. It has to do as much with playing with old boxes, flying kites on the Rondebosch Common, and exploring stormwater canals as it does with a later and rationalised insight. The theme of lived modernism equates with the understanding of space that I believe is inherent in having lived experience of the built porosity of modernism, that orientates me to the potentials for re-appropriation that lie in its apparently strong forms.

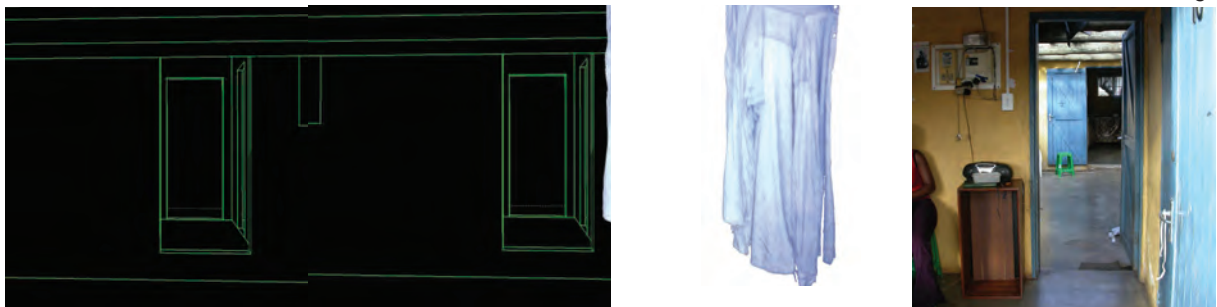
STRUGGLE SCENES, 1976-1990



a



b



c

a. Soweto protest march, June 1976 (Amandla!, 2002)

b. Women's group meeting superimposed on wireframe of Philippi trading square, 1990'2 (Suzanne Hall)

c. Interior and wireframe model of Mansel Road housing, Durban, 1998

PIONEER INFORMAL TRADERS, JOHANNESBURG, 1997

a



b



c



MODERN MOVEMENT ARCHITECTURE IN NIGERIA, IN 2002

a



b



c



3. ambivalent reuses

3.1 seminars

The process of the PhD involved organizing three seminars, located in Johannesburg and Ghent which articulated the context and methodology of practices of reuse in relation to other practitioners¹⁷. As Schön (1983) notes, the function of verbal articulations of practice, in the form of talks, notes and texts, is to reflect on action. This reflection can be directed to create an internal or dialogic awareness of the split between (naturalised) action and (critical) awareness of the professional process. In the process, inarticulate action is framed within wider contexts or tested against other case studies. The seminar platforms built up a theoretical model of practice, which had remained inarticulated in writing, but was worked out through the discussions.

At the same time, two of the seminars included a form of performative work, a sort of staging of a position, in its format. The first seminar, *modernx* took place in two modernist buildings on campus, the second one of which was vacant and awaiting reuse. The third, *parallel practices in architecture*, took place in the offices of Robbrecht en Daem in Ghent, which I have acknowledged as a key case study for my work. The seminar format was extended to include an Ethiopian coffee ceremony and an opportunity for some street football. Both activities were supported by minimal physical elements that I installed within the open space of the former wood factory that the office has re-appropriated as an consciously ambivalent area.

The contribution of the seminars to the project lay in their emphasis on defining a position or genre. I was interested in the ambivalence that architects have towards the reuse of modernist space, which suggests that the status of such work is lower than that of building the new. Their representation of the reuse of modernist buildings as difficult and incremental work was in direct contrast to the normally bold representations of new built designs from the same offices¹⁸.

These three seminars are represented through a montage that is both a record of the participants and themes, and of the relationship between the places of the seminar and the discursive communities that they temporarily created. This representation is of each seminar as a designed project, involving both staging and social relations, and research and its performance.

¹⁷ See appendix for a record of these seminars.

¹⁸ The representation on their website of the Robbrecht en Daem's offices is an exception, in contrast to the buried, understated representations of projects of reuse on those of many of the practitioners who were invited to the first seminar.

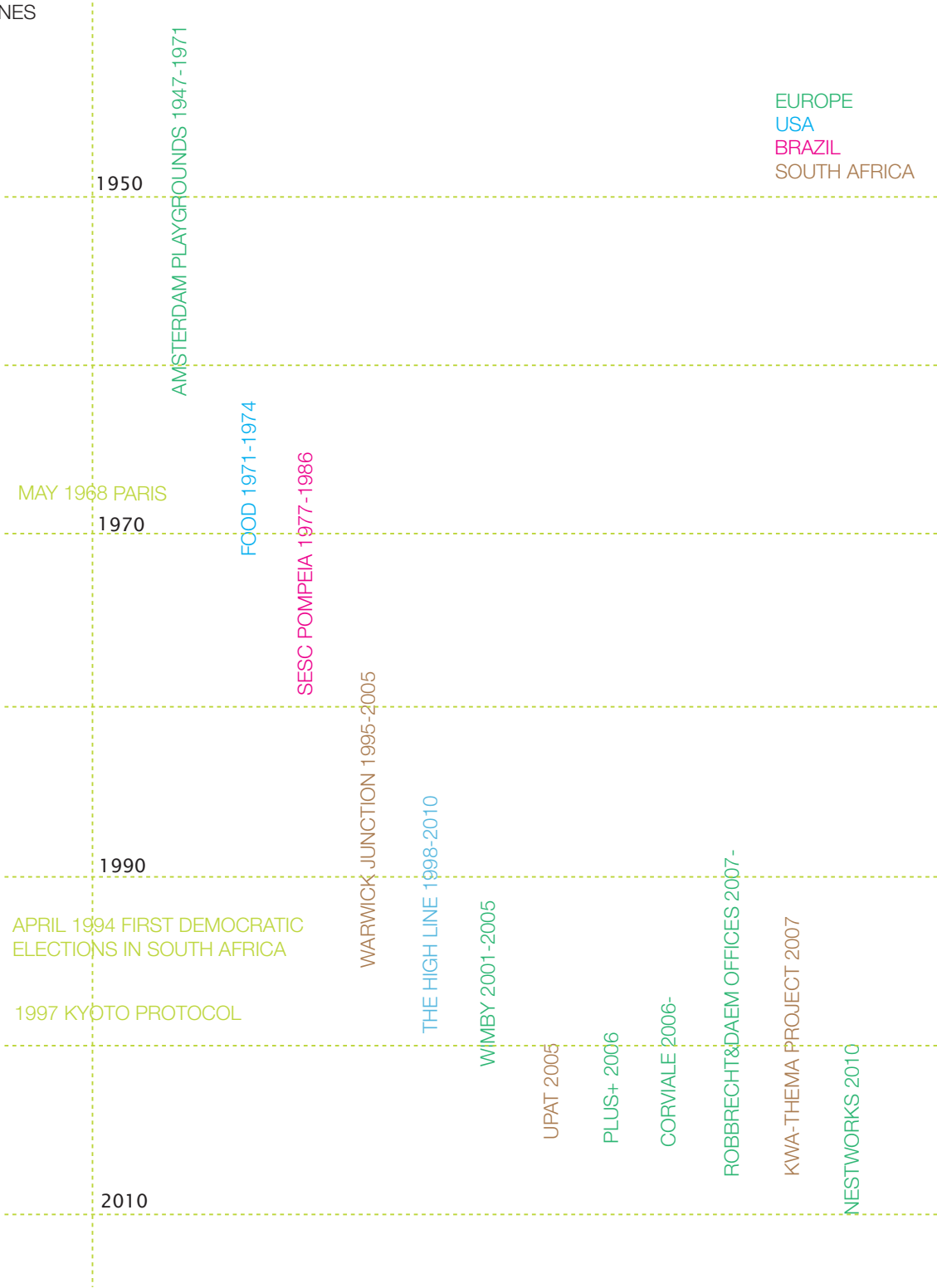
4. dirty dozen: creative reuse

4.1 overview

“President Mao was right after all: the revolution has to always be revolutionized. What he did not anticipate is that the new “revolutionary” energy would be taken from the set of attitudes that are hard to come by in revolutionary movements: modesty, care, precautions, skills, crafts, meanings, attention to details, careful conservations, redesign, artificiality, and ever shifting transitory fashions. We have to be radically careful, or carefully radical... What an odd time we are living through.” (Latour, 2009)

This section engages with design practices that reuse modernist space. Most, but not all, involve architects. I scan and reflect on twelve projects, the dirty dozen in its title. Perhaps more grittily real than really dirty, they are nonetheless projects that bring a layer of complexity to the use and forms of spaces they inherit. In their diversity, they suggest that the conscious practice of lived modernism is not predefined but rather explores a multiplicity of possibilities in imaginaries and action. Their identity lies between community advocacy, ephemeral creative practices, industrial archaeology, social mapping and networking and the profession of architecture.

TIMELINES



4.2 a dozen projects

4.2.1 the field of choice

The dozen projects here are by collective and individual designers working from parallel conceptual positions, across a wide period of time and space. I have looked at the case studies comparatively, but also isolated some of the critical gestures that transformed their contexts. My intention is not to define a practice, but to trace and describe moments in which the idea - the lived critique of the modern - crystallizes through the intersection of design and use.

The twelve case studies are from different geographical areas, but the emphasis is on accessible works located in South Africa and Western Europe. They span a historical period from 1947 to the present. The forms of authorship include both individual and collective practice, located within free market and state funded economies. They also cover a broad scale of physical projects and project budgets. Their commonality relates to their positioning within the physical and social environment of modernism, a context that presents both the physical material for the projects and a form of institutional constraint or crisis to which the programmatic framing of the projects responds. Falling between architecture, heritage, social re-engineering, art practice and activism, they share an interest in the interrelation of place and its use, and the need to work between both aspects of space.

4.2.2 tabling

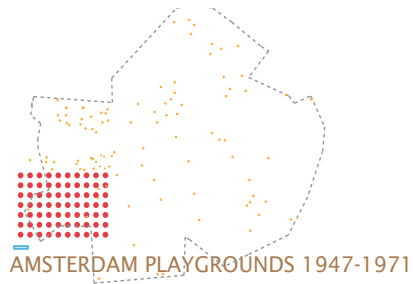
This representation of the twelve projects begins with a comparative tabling of the projects, reflecting on their chronology, their local urban fabric and their scales in both physical and social terms. The process of researching and redrawing brought out both a sense of similitude and of difference. In terms of similarities there is a clear and common relationship between a broad social context and a minimal physical intervention; while the differences relate to the disparity of scales.

Chronologically, the twelve projects span between the end of the Second World War and the present. The earliest project set is by Aldo van Eyck who designed more than 700 playgrounds for the city of Amsterdam between 1947 and 1970, in his capacity as the city architect (Lefavre et al., 2002). The restaurant and performance space FOOD, founded by a community of artists in New York in 1971, including Gordon Matta-Clark, Tina Girouard and Caroline Goodden (Kennedy, 2007) almost 25 years later marks a more critical distance to modernism, and the emergence of urban reclamation as a creative, rather than welfarist strategy. This movement coincides with the Situationists' theorizing of the urban uprisings in Paris in 1968. Lina Bo Bardi's project for the SESC (Social Service for Commerce) in Pompéia, São Paola, 1977-1986 (de Oliveira, 2006) spans between these two intentions, by preparing settings for spontaneous cultural expression, institutionalized recreation and political expression in a disused factory.

The next generation of projects begin around the period of the first democratic elections on South Africa in 1994. Warwick Junction urban renewal project, designed and managed by Richard Dobson in the Durban Municipality (Dobson and Skinner, 2009) followed on the subsequent appropriation of modernist space in the wake of political changes in urban governance. Around the same period, the capitalization of urban gentrification and growing immigration transformed cities. The UPAT project is my own design for a company that had bought a building in an inner city area and invested in space and furniture for its staff and retail operations. The High Line Project designed by Field Operations and Diller Scofidio + Refro architects (Friends of the High Line, 2010), the WiMBY project for the town of Hoogvliet by Crimson Architectural Historians and politician and journalist Felix Rottenberg (Provoost et al., 2007), Lacaton and Vassal's proposal for altering blocks of social housing in Paris (Druot et al., 2007) and the research and presentation of social space in Corviale, Rome, by the architectural collective Stalker/Osservatorio nomade (Osservatorio nomade, 2006) all reinvest use into found space.

The offices of Robbrecht en Daem in Ghent, Belgium (Strauven et al., 2009) and Nestworks, Bankside, London, the provision of urban bird nesting spaces designed by 51% Studios (51% Studios, 2010), reflect the intertwining of reuse with ecological agendas in the wake of the Green movement and the Kyoto Protocol of 1997. Lastly, the KwaThema Project I ran with students in the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand in 2008 (le Roux, 2008a) engages with creating an open public space for youth.

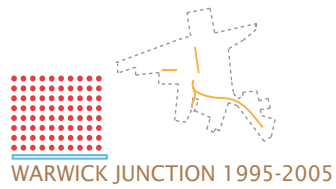
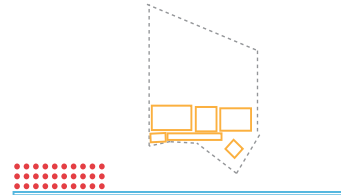
SCALE



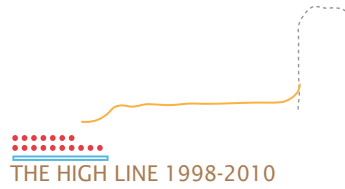
FOOD 1971-1974



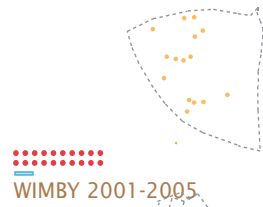
SESC POMPEIA 1977-1986



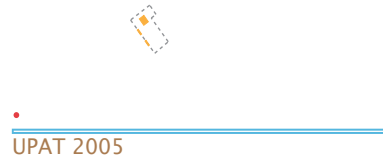
THE HIGH LINE 1998-2010



WIMBY 2001-2005



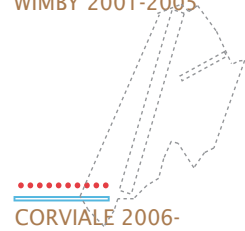
UPAT 2005



PLUS+ 2006



CORVIALE 2006-



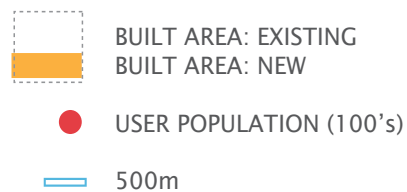
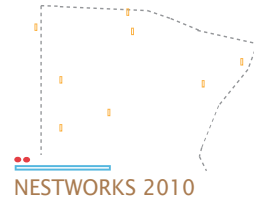
ROBBRECHT&DAEM OFFICES 2005-2007



KWA-THEMA PROJECT 2007



NESTWORKS 2010



MONTAGE



38

AMSTERDAM PLAYGROUNDS 1947-1971



FOOD 1971-1974



SESC POMPEIA 1977-1986



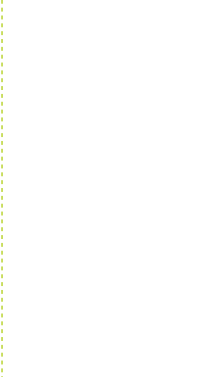
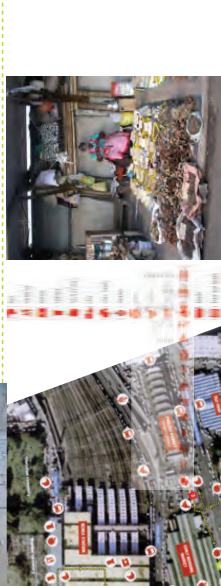
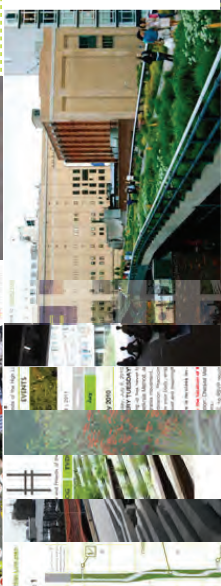
WARWICK JUNCTION 1995-2005

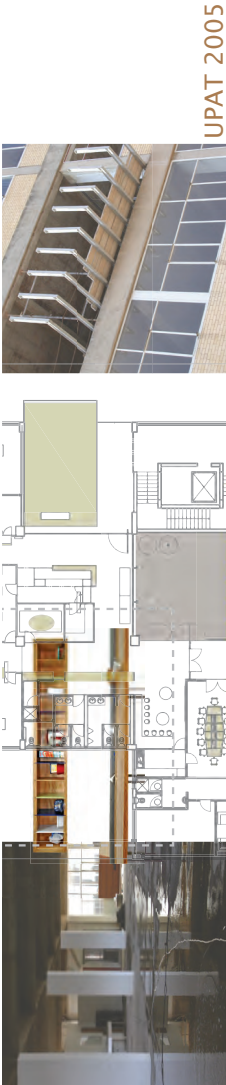


THE HIGH LINE 1998-2010

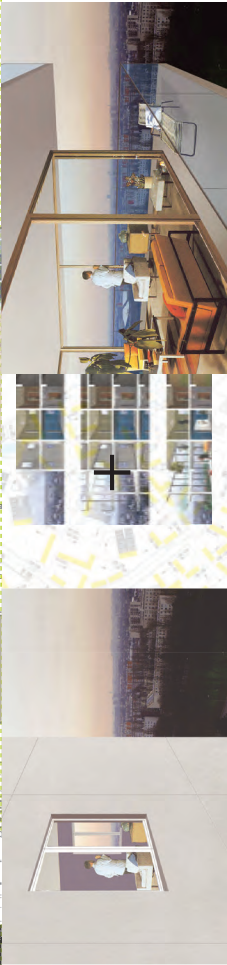


WIMBY 2001-2007

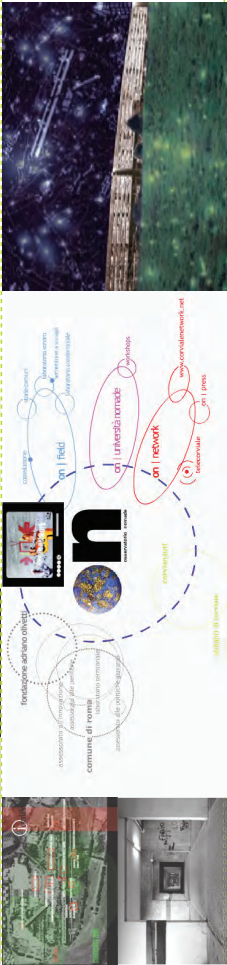




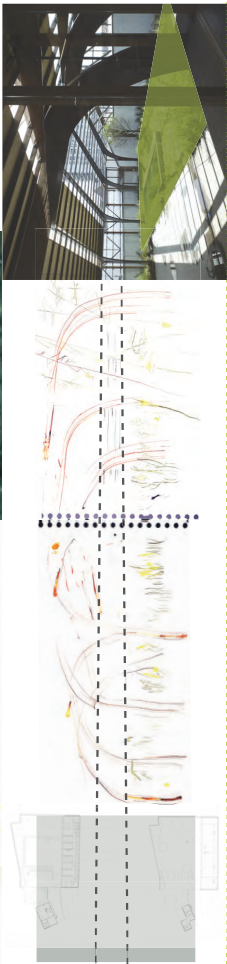
UPAT 2005



PLUS+ 2006



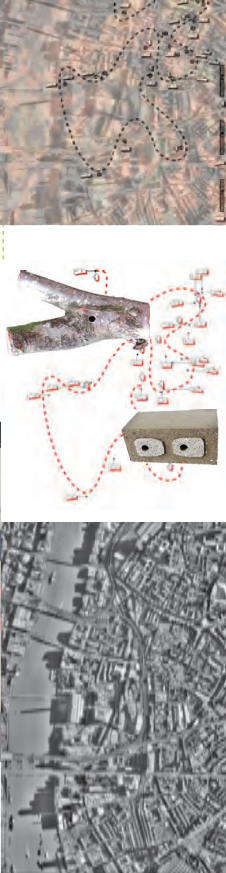
CORVIALLE 2006



ROBBRECHT&DAEM.OFFICES.2005



KWA-THEMA PROJECT 2007



NETWORKS 2010

4.2.3 comparing

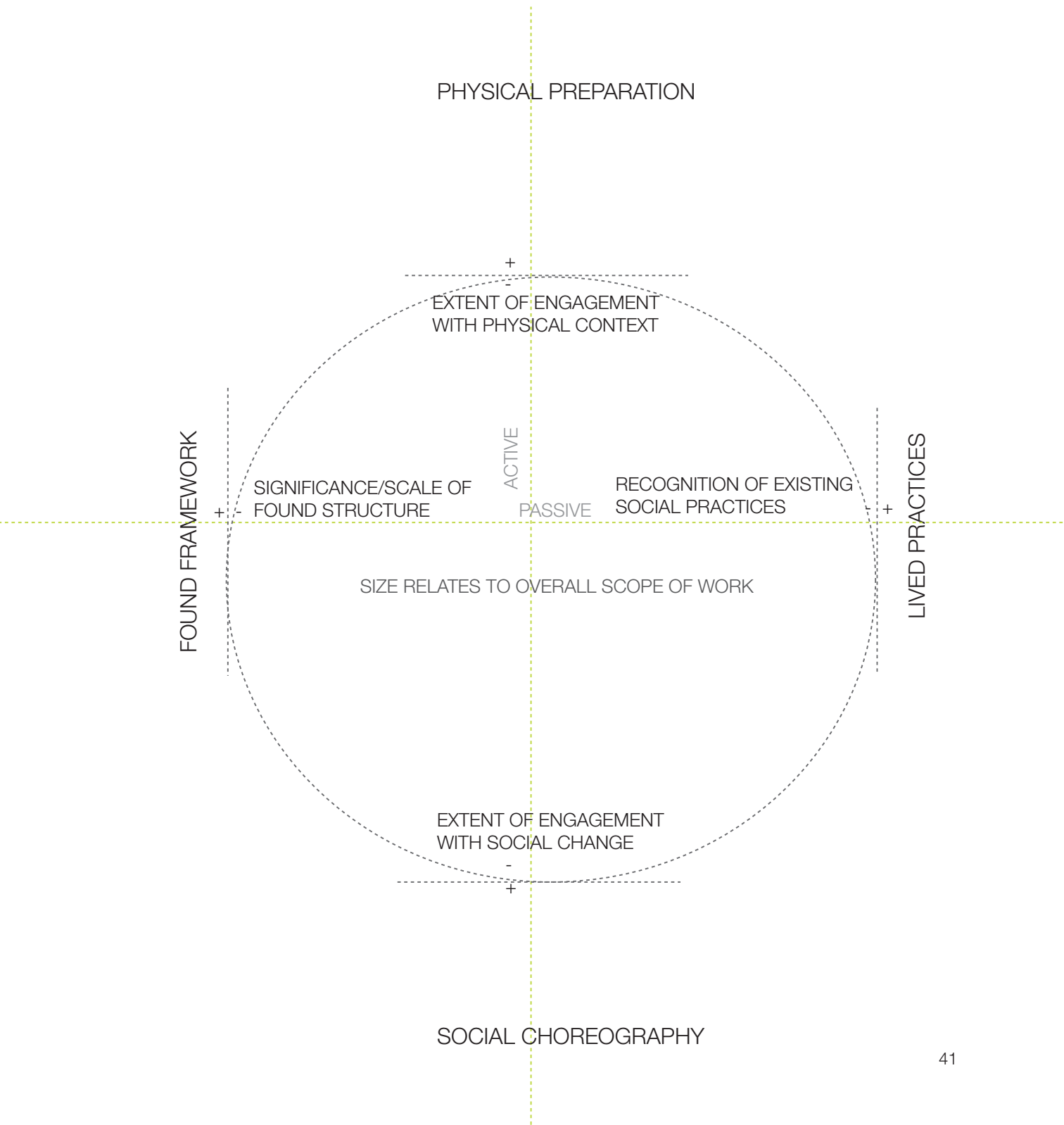
Having set out the projects in term of differences, I developed an analytical framework to consider their relative scale and strategic approach. This framework generates comparative tables that reflect a consideration of the projects' inherent physical material and organizational strategies within two sets of binary terms. The first pair - found framework and lived practices - reflect found conditions. These terms acknowledge the existing context and/or an existing social community. The diagram maps where the project's emphasis lies in relation to reworking the existing built form and engaging with practices of use. The second pair - physical preparation and social choreography - deals with the strategies used to realise the project and maps the relative emphases given to effecting this through built material and social relationships. Together, they map both passive and active roles played by the two aspects of constructed and lived space.

The term choreography refers to the social design implicit in the project. Notwithstanding its associations with performance, it covers a range of interventions, from the social arrangements that sustain the new life in this found context, through to the mechanisms of funding and institution building, to simple and everyday motions of use. It describes both scripted and spontaneous social actions. In the design processes of my projects, the identification of social actors and networks is a pre-requisite to the choreography of their new roles and relationships.

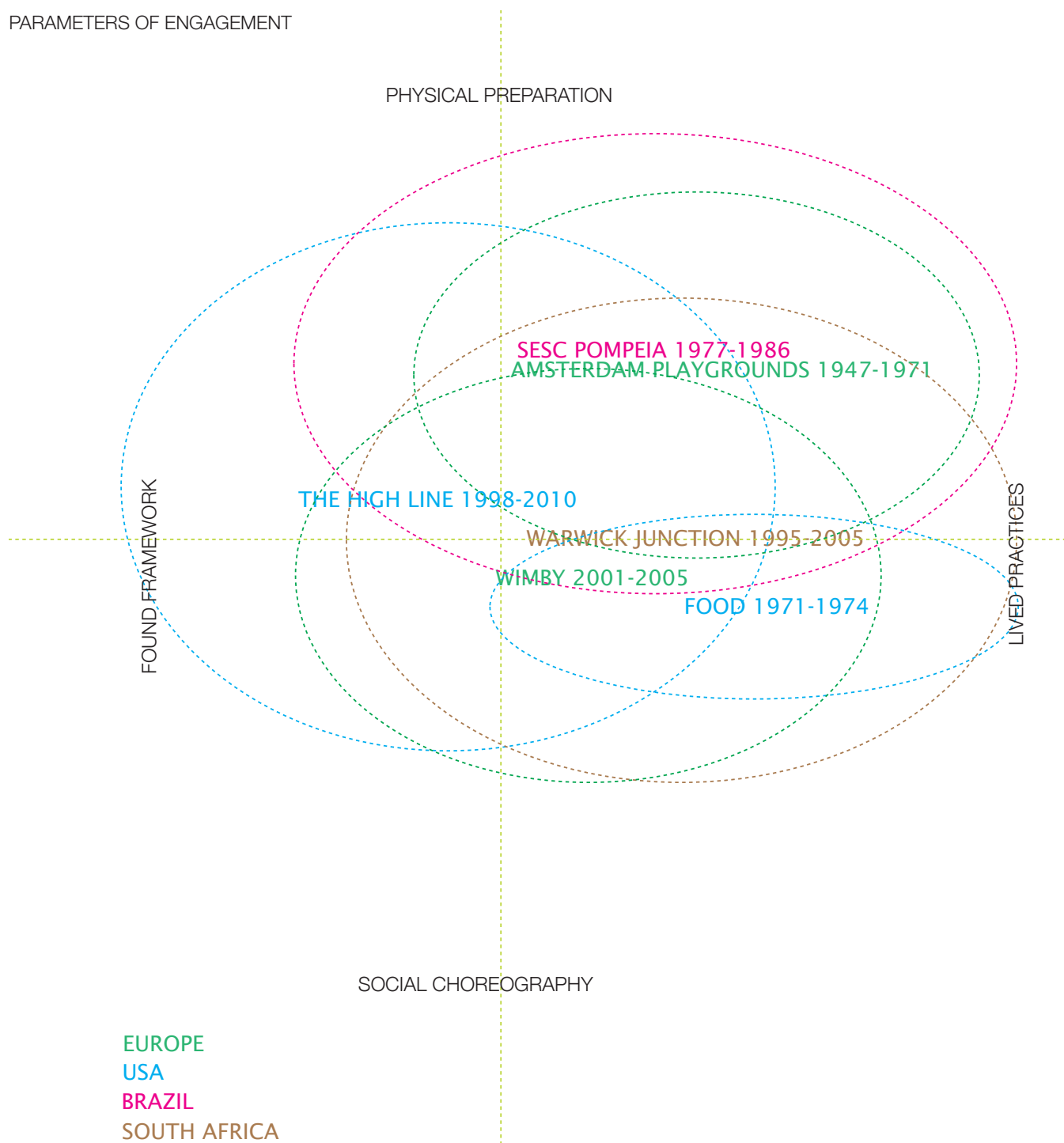
In parallel, I use the term archaeology to refer to the process of identifying and re-opening the physical layer of modernist space and infrastructure, prior to its preparation for new uses. I have borrowed these two terms from other established disciplines, but they are informal processes that are enacted through trial and error as much as active organisation. The use of these disciplinary terms is intentional to give gravitas to these processes, but is done without loading them with their historical and academic connotations.

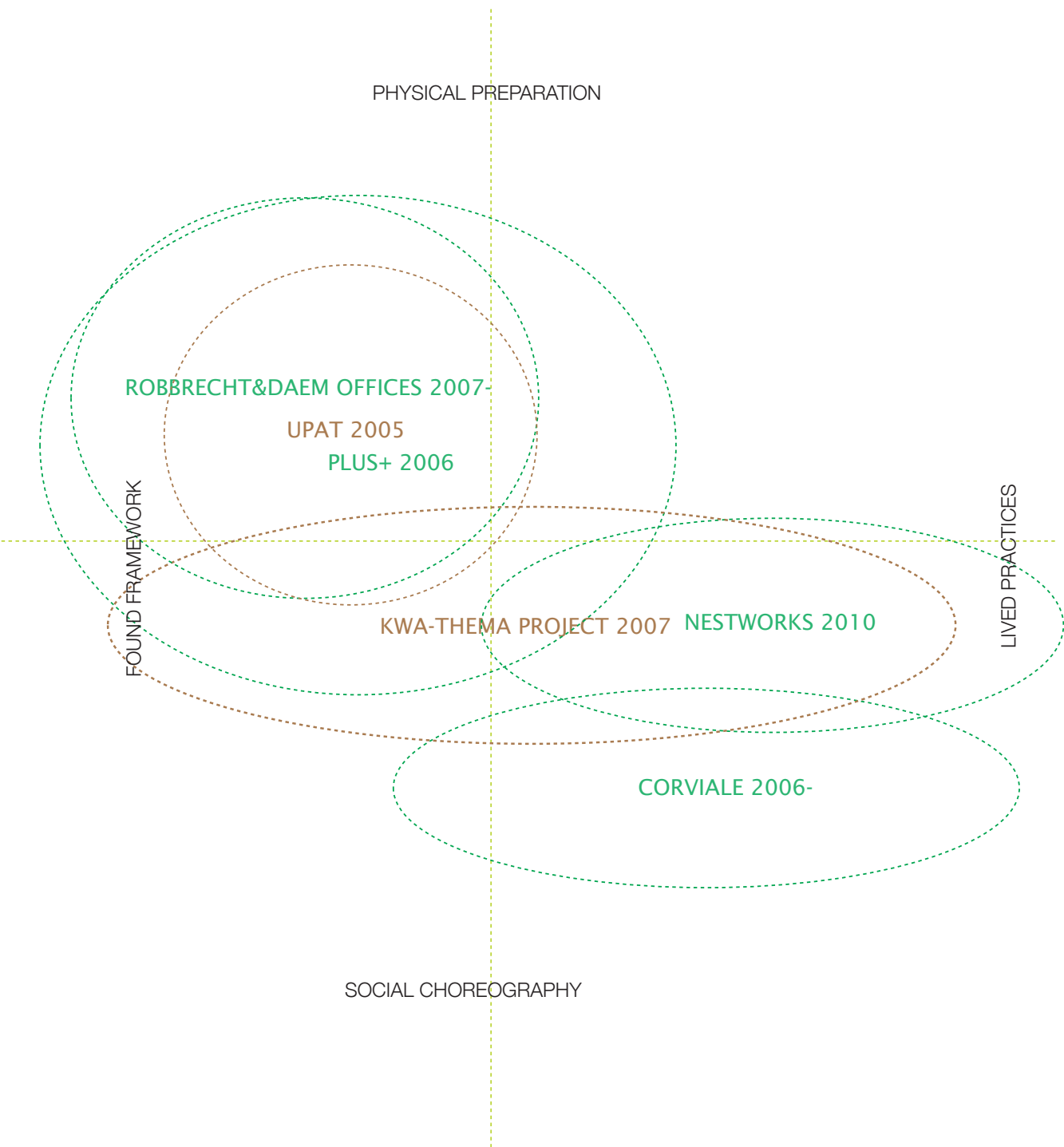
This social choreography has no specific style or end for the actions that it plans. It aims, instead, at the creation of relationality. In particular, the reconnection of the social actors involved with the larger field of the city is implied. However, there is no guarantee that the consequence of choreography is a happy accommodation of these new and diverse actors; for every moment of transformation there is likely to be a counter moment. The intention is therefore, like in performance, a short-lived act of becoming within a vivid context.

The scale of the ellipse that forms in relation to the axial mappings reflects, if not the scale, the scope of the project in working between disciplines of spatial and social organization. But more than this it is a tool to consider and compare projects in their full scope, without bias towards either constructed or lived aspects, and outside of their varying scales and locales. In this framework, a new building where there is no reuse, and a given social function, would be a vertical flat line. An existing situation would be a horizontal line.



PARAMETERS OF ENGAGEMENT





4.3 dozens of strategies

The temporal nature of lived modernism is uncontainable in verbal narratives alone. It forms the theme of many pieces of film, realist, photography and installations, in which the duality of spatial contexts and social actions are easily co-presented. But working within the flat space of the drawing, other forms of representation have to signify the story and context of transformation. The format of representation I have chosen to describe the individual projects presents the situated design as a triple image - one of (existing) context and (emergent) use, and an in-between figure constructed by a reaction to elements from each side.

In studying the twelve projects I redrew each of them as a narrative strip. The left hand image shows an existing context before the project and the right image shows the project as built and used. In between these are images that represent strategies, ways of effecting these social and spatial transformations, through diagrams, objects and organizational processes. Some, but not all of the images are by the architects. They represent meditative or visual forms of thinking on space. The in-between figure is my analysis of the projects, a mnemonic notation and an example of a technique to describe socio-spatial change. There is no way of comprehensively describing the complexity of each project in a single image, but the process is one of selecting emblematic photographs and gestures to filter and absorb. At the same time, sifting through “working drawings” of the projects has been a way of considering the forms of representation available to future projects.

The process of notation suggests a range of strategies between the spatial and social, which are montaged onto each other. Separating out the layers, there are particular intensities in each project, often falling into each domain and sometimes into a blurred zone of socio/spatial thinking where both domains are reconsidered in the same moment. At the extremes, these notations describe how some projects have emerged by considering context purely in terms of its spatial or built dimensions, and others attempt to transform use through social actions alone. But it is interesting how much of the coming-into-being of all these projects has depended on forms of thought and action that are neither the one nor the other, designerly strategies that can be termed formalist (when the production of the object is stressed) or socio-spatial (where the end of social change is realised within a spatial frame).

Some examples. The primary gesture in the High Line project is the object of transformation, the defunct raised railway track from the 1930's, used to convey goods in the meat packing district of New York. It was threatened with demolition in the 1980's (Friends of the High Line, 2010). Challenging this fate, an activist and local resident, Peter Obletz, tried to keep it maintained, so stalling demolition but also freezing it in its physical and social function. This social use included incidents of appropriation, exemplified by a popular image of the patch of garden someone was cultivating from an adjacent window. The crystallization of the present project came about later, in 1999, when Joshua David and Robert Hammond, two local residents, formed Friends of the High Line, an advocacy group that

countered the demolition with heritage legislation and a counter-proposal for use as social and landscape space. The sponsorship of the project came about through both political and social lobbying, and its life, now that the first and major phase of alteration is complete, remains programmed by the Friends group. Interweaving this construction of a civic community is the narrative of design, which was won in competition by James Corner's Field Works practice with Diller, Scofidio and Renfro, with a Dutch garden designer, Piet Oudolf as planting designer. The design evokes images of process(es) through the poetic detailing of planting, furniture and materials that counterpose the function and metaphor of transport with richer rhythms of renewal, delay and abandon.

Several of the other projects, including SESC, FOOD, the Amsterdam playgrounds and Robbrecht en Daem's offices, were conceived as responses to voided space in the city. The impulse is often spurred by the discovery of vacancy as a positive quality, and the projects maintain a sense of functional clearing. These projects have invented social programs from scratch to deal with voids that come about through historical changes. As a poignant illustration of this, the Amsterdam Playgrounds were located in spaces created during World War II through bombings and through the deportation of Jewish residents (Lefaivre et al., 2002). The subsequent demolitions or clearings created space in the city that represented radical social loss that was countered by the vision of giving over the spaces to the next generation of children. In this way the reuse of the land expropriated from deported Jews was given some social meaning. The projects add minimalist form to the spaces as a way of maintaining their condition as urban voids, while compelling the children who played in them, and their watchers, to do so with a maximum of physical and imaginative investment.

FOOD, a restaurant started by artists who had found cheap studio spaces in New York's SoHo neighborhood in the wake of its de-industrialization, created a platform for social interaction between studios. Taking over the space of a restaurant once serving local businesses, it also reinvented the function of its space from just serving food into one of support for more collective creative activities (Lee and Matta-Clark, 2000) that used food as medium for invention and co-experience. The restaurant also came about through a minimal physical transformation, suggesting the potential for social space to shatter the dominance of physically defined functions. The photomontages by one of the artists, Gordon Matta-Clark of his de-constructions form the interim image in the representation of this project. They illustrate his literal and visual deformation of space to capture the purity of the cuts made through its fabric. The virtual re-naming of the place - FOOD is marked over one photograph of an otherwise unaltered exterior - is ironic in its starkly functional appellation, but also suggests that it is the human activity within the space that constitutes nourishment for its community.

The offices of Robbrecht en Daem, SESC, WiMBY, UPAT, Plus and the KwaThema beer hall project, after claiming and clearing found spaces, and stabilizing them in technical terms through the intervention of architects, similarly

follow through with a commitment to keep them open in terms of their significations. In other words, what their function becomes is a space of immanence, or cross programming, while the built fabric is maintained as a frame. In contrast, another set of projects begins with the mapping, identification and recognition of social activities that have been somehow threatened or limited, and amplifies the space of these projects into the space available in the modern city. These projects include Warwick Junction, Stalker's Corviale network, Nestworks and the chess park in KwaThema. In the case of these projects the strategy involves social mapping as a way of recognizing and naming the activities and social subjects on the site, altering their status from something strategically concealed to something proudly present.

In the map developed to describe the trader activities in Durban's Warwick Junction (Dobson and Skinner, 2009), which is used as the interim image, new symbols were designed to locate and equalize a wide range of retail functions that had self-organized across the site. By naming each group as communities, the possibility of defining dedicated spaces for their community became apparent to the urban bureaucracy. These communities in turn became the locus of projects tailored to their specific needs; for instance, the bovine head market had to assist a community of women whose livelihood consisted of cleaning, cooking and selling sheep and cattle heads that they sourced as waste from abattoirs to contain risks of contamination. At another site, a road leading to the Badsha Pier cemetery, the coexistence of two potentially conflictual claims on the space traders and a religious community was resolved by identifying each group with certain temporal rights of use.

In KwaThema the Chess Academy had operated out of a used container perched on a pavement between private and public space. By adding signage and installing a public chess board, we not only ratified the container's dubious legal status, but also gained the tacit acceptance by the Council that the adjacent park "belonged" to the Academy (le Roux, 2008a). In all of these cases the mechanism for recognition has to be prompted by the de-facto owners of each space through meetings and letters until a solution is invented by the authorities.

In many of these projects, private activities are amplified into public space. The re-appearance of children in the city in Amsterdam's playgrounds, the communal eating at FOOD, the lounge-like activities programmed into the SESC cultural centre and the beaming, via a television network, of interviews from one flat to another in Corviale all performatively critique the modern city's physical closure and hostility to intimacy.

The Corviale network project presents an interesting counterpoint to the debate around this iconic modernist structure, a nine floor concrete structure nearly 1km long built on the outskirts of Rome (Santori and Pietromarchi, 2006, Cornell School of Architecture, 2009). It was designed as a self-contained community by a team led by Mario Fiorentino in the early 1970's and constructed between 1975 and 1982. Areas left open for public facilities on the 4th

floor were never completed and later illegally occupied. The debate around Corviale reflected the extreme reactions to its physicality: rejection (and suggested demolition) of a building considered as over-scaled, inhuman and isolated, and its monumentalization in recognition of the scale and formal qualities of the structure. The network project aimed to map and reflect back the social qualities of the structure as a whole into its community, without necessarily judging on its physicality or legal status. The network project succeeded in creating a third term in a debate that had marginalized the post-occupied spaces of the building.

Plus+ is a similarly virtual project to Corviale, in that it began primarily in a research and published medium (Druot et al., 2007). It intends to generate constructed projects by demonstrating that the re-jigging of high-rise social housing constructed in France in the 1960's and 70's would be more effective, socially and economically, than their demolition and the relocation of their residents. Although the projects treat the existing community in the buildings as an abstract one, they observe that the resident profile is far more diverse than assumed when the buildings were constructed. Their proposal is to add layers of un-programmed space to the existing flats, allowing their re-shaping in scale and function. My notation of this process includes the architects' diagram of the existing and proposed sections, through which images of private space are counterposed with technical information. In this duality it reflects the commitment of this practice to achieving conditions of social "happiness" by restraining their input to a rational, even industrial approach to space-making. Their own additions are deliberately de-semanticized, giving more value and space to the future use by reducing any formal indulgence on the part of the designers.

In Robbrecht en Daem's offices in Ghent, the working space of the architects is contained in a wing that lies adjacent to the much larger vacant space of the former furniture factory (Strauven et al., 2009). The large un-programmed space has a series of overlapping uses that largely defy the modernist definition of function. One use is as an ecological filter, an zone in-between urban and park fabric that contains elements from both. The clear roof sheeting creates warmer areas that in turn reduce the office section's heating needs, and allow for planting below. At the same time, the space presents a cognitive touchstone for the office, acting in a similar way to the artworks and tables within the workspace, that allow for contemplation on the spaces imagined from there. The sketch by Paul Robbrecht of the space as both garden and shed that forms the interim image is used to show the loose but profound co-thinking of nature and building, and subtraction and addition, that comes about in such moments.

The WiMBY project is one with a much more complex authorship. Its co-ordinators, Crimson architectural historians, grounded it in a historical perspective. They recognised that the township of Hoogvliet, near Rotterdam, was a space stripped of meaning through the process of de-industrialization and immigration. The strategy of Crimson Architectural historians was to move on from this position to dual process of mapping of all the other, as-yet-unnamed uses on the site, and to open up the question as to how to fill its voids (Provoost et al., 2007). Their

process, represented in a table of multiple micro-projects followed through by other consultant teams, compelled the various agencies working on the project to negotiate both with each other and with an empowered local community at a multiplicity of scales. The consequence was a broader, more networked civic context and a set of physical interventions that overlap across public space. In a sense this inverts the modernist spatial logic of the original design, where both the civic body and the physical environment are made up of discreet institutions, with an emphasis on open space and relationships, managed through short term projects, meetings and representations.

Some of the notations in the diagrams map the minimal physical gestures made by designers in preparing the spaces for use. In the UPAT project (Bremner and Subiros, 2006, le Roux, 2007b) my process in reworking an industrial building from the 1950's was to clear it of all the existing partitioning and finishes, exposing the concrete frame. I used colour to represent the shift from an industrial function to the new social ordering approach. The soft putty colour of the concrete, and green glass mosaics found on the stair, were the palette both for the new painted surfaces and its notation in the presentation drawings. I added dark blue, orange, grey and red, drawing them from the company's existing packaging, to these found embodied colours. I used the colours both ornamentally and as a provocation for staff to make small choices about their furniture colours, so re-coding them in relation to personal associations. In the dining room, an open shelf for lunch-boxes was intended to encourage staff to express (or not) personal choices. The floor area of the existing building was deep enough to allow a substantial amount of un-programmed and socially available space in the form of wide passages, two wooden platforms that jut out of the building and an atrium with the two slabs above removed to allow natural light into the depth of the floor. All of these changes intended to support the staff, who had been cooped up in a functional, cellular space, to have relationships with each other that were more informal and multiple than before.

The SESC (Social Service for Commerce) Centre in Sao Paulo, altered by Lina Bo Bardi to enhance recreational spaces in a former metal drum factory, is a project on an almost urban scale, consisting of independent buildings with both specific and generic uses. Bo Bardi's approach included both participatory planning and direct detailing of finishes and materials, compelling her to work on the site for four years (de Oliveira, 2006:205-206). The outcome is a highly articulated complex of spaces that include traditional typologies such as internal streets, a *terreiro* (public square) and timber pavilions, settings that evoked natural elements such as an internal river, and modern sports facilities surfaced in intense colours. The interior spaces of the factories were minimally divided, with her furniture designs used instead to define functional clusters around the scale of small social groups, dining, reading or playing games together.

The formal strategies in both these projects involves colour as a physical gesture that alters the nature of open surfaces. On the one hand, mural colours overlay a functional surface with a decorative one, but the abstract nature

of the colour allows for its personal reception. In one of the most radical gestures, Bo Bardi painted deep colours between the white lines of the basketball courts. The images used to notate her process include two collages made with photographs, drawn onto by hand and re-coloured. The sketches shows children playing and interacting around settings defined by colours, both neutral (cleared and circulatory spaces) and irrationally intense in tone.

The second common strategy in both UPAT and SESC, as well as Robbrecht en Daem's complex and the High Line park is to open up, or re-inscribe boxed areas with non-volumetric spaces defined as platforms or strata within a larger form. As with the furnishing of space at an intimate scale, these platforms create a scale and function of *support*, to usurp a term from Celine Condorelli (2009), that lies between the vast scale of the industrial shell and the performative space of people who use it, not so much in a functional way but in an expressive one. The nature of these platforms and furnishings is both lucid in terms of their material, geometric or coloured purity, and generic, in terms of their capacity to allow multiple uses and combinations of bodies. These small elements are arrayed in clusters that include both dense and isolated groups, allowing both networks and personal space to develop. In these ways, the support elements ladder their users' sense of belonging between intimate and institutional scales.

In the Nestworks project, the need for intimate space in the city is given a strong ecological role, in its programme to create nesting spaces for bird species, such as sparrows, that have been disappearing from London. It seems that modern buildings in their seamless forms do not support nesting. The architects, 51% studios, working with ornithologists, identified three types of artificially crafted nesting spaces - boxes, boughs and bushes - that could be discreetly inserted into city space to help reintroduce birds. In its programme, this project echoes the intention of Robbrecht en Daem and the High Line to interrupt modernist forms and rhythms with those displaced from nature.

Considering this sum of projects in terms of the various skills, procedures and technical knowledge they entail, let alone their formal virtuosity, suggests a formidable array of paths to the reuse of modernist space. They also represent ambivalence in relationship to that space, suggesting its inadequacies while retrieving the moments of beauty that it frames. The challenge and success of these projects lies in the ways that they crystallize a response in the open field of possible reactions, techniques and programmes that simultaneously holds physical clarity and social meaning.

4.4 minor modifications

By their nature, critical design practices react to existing norms of practice at a point of time and locale, and interrogate these norms by proposing alternative practices that are equally localized. However, in their conscious positioning, as critical stances, these practices share a more globalized intentionality. Reading them retrospectively, and in relation to their accompanying manifestoes, it seems that a common thread lies in the ways that these practices redefine the consequences of power and agency by inverting the hierarchy of the built and its new use. The obvious move in all of them is to loosen space and its relationship to function, especially as it was initially defined through the institution that constructed that space. At the same time, new critical projects emerge from authored practices, albeit it highly collaborative and elastic ones.

This dozen projects suggest that - occasionally perhaps, but undeniably - there are effective ways of working with space that run parallel with the sorts of informal social and spatial shifts found in African cities, and parts of the West. They come into being through the simultaneously thinking of formal and social, narrative and visual means, while practicing with a critical intention. Collectively, they present not a single way of changing space but rather involve positioning one's practices within a matrix of approaches, to bring about a product is ecological, spatially exciting, social and just.

4.5 tabling strategies

In summary, the strategies that realise the dozen projects occupy a broad field from spatial to social interventions, and in-between. The tabling of these strategies shows both the extensiveness and the balance across a spectrum.

In almost all of them, spatial acts of finding, claiming and clearing space are critical. Physical mapping is done in parallel with social or ecological mapping. Recognition of marginalised or fragile uses and connections takes place. This is accompanied by negotiations around ownership, often resulting in an inversion of public and private uses of space. The designerly interventions that follow cover a broad set of gestures, such as colouring and/or signing new identities; the creation of open platforms for events; the insertion of services, connections, supports and micro-technés, often adjacent to programmed spaces. Lastly, the sustaining of the new use happens through acts of networking, events, and the construction of media presences.

STRATEGIES

	FOUND SPACE	PHYSICAL	COMBINATORY	SOCIAL
FOUND SPACE				
PHYSICAL MAPPING				
PHYSICAL CLEARING				
MAKING SAFE				
INVERTING PUBLIC/PRIVATE				
SERVICES				
MICROTECHNES				
FOUND OBJECTS				
CONNECTING				
ROUTES				
REARRANGEMENT				
OPENINGS				
PLATFORMS				
COLOURING				
ARTWORKS				
SIGNING				
NAMING				
UNPROGRAMMED SPACE				
MULTIMEDIA				
OWNERSHIP				
LEGALISING				
NEGOTIATING				
FRAGILITY				
NETWORK				
EVENTS				
FOOD				
SOCIAL MAPPING				
ECOLOGIES				

5. conclusion of part I

The first part of this thesis takes as its premise that everyday and innovative spatial practices alike act as forms of critique of modernist architecture. They do so through human readings, actions and artefacts that exploit its spatial porosity and open meanings. I approached this field of innovation in different ways. The first way was through revisiting photo-essays of spaces that I have directly experienced, where the frame of modernist space has been re-occupied in everyday situations. These are sites where, in the process of earlier work I sifted through images, so developing reflections on these sites and images. In the process, these images have become a touchstone for my design practice.

The second way of considering innovative and hence, as yet un-articulated practices, was through convening a series of discussions. These discussions are also a minor form of project, in that each was deliberately staged and choreographed. These events made some progress in the definition of lived modernist practice as a minor, understated but real form of designerly work. The events themselves equally proved the value of the lived space of reuse, through the short term construction of communities in atypical conference spaces.

The third consideration of practice took built case studies as its subject. This comparative, diagrammatic mapping of them revealed a multiplicity of strategies involved in designerly projects that engage with lived modernism. In reflecting on them, I proposed that these otherwise quite different projects have in common genres of designerly thinking. All of the projects are physically located on a spectrum between found and prepared spaces, and their communities of use between fragile and recognised practices. Their process of realisation is one that intersects found space and social practices.

Collectively, these examples reveal a continuity of approaches between everyday and professionalised designerly ways of re-using modernist spaces. The essays describe a rich field of activities that are both divergent in their multiplicity, and convergent in terms of their conceptual and creative integration of found space and social change. The observation and reflection through diagramming suggests how analogous practices could happen in new designerly projects.

II. MODERNISM | TRANSFORMS | ARCHITECTURE

keywords:
modernism

phys
"archaeo

lived modernisms

documentary

diagram to action

creative context

abstraction

corporate m

vanhaus

clearing: conceptual

t r a n s

1917

1920

understanding

nighttime

worker

men

children

"choreo

soc

ical
ology"

modernism

symbolic
post. modernism

internet

al + physical

f o r m s

1950

2012

networks + identities

topical

exhibitions

series

centralities
post media

gibson program

critical communities

ideas

ography"

cial

commons
Qualities?
scale
materiality
utility
sociality
neutrality
support

negot

smooth

bricks

design probes
performative



1. introduction

Can the constructive process of *lived modernism* be defined? The multiplicity of actions, appropriations, renewals, additions and subtractions around modern architecture in the path of social change seems to be a near-universal condition, but one without a name. A linguistic lag separates lived modernism as spontaneous practice from its articulation as an authored critical practice. For its practices to cross ever more fluidly between the everyday and professionalised acts, they need the support of programmatic terms that capture their precision and intent, without formalising their physicality or limiting their strategies.

This section begins by placing the need for such synthetic terms in the context of architectural theory, tracing how modernism's exclusions are voiced within architectural criticism. I then suggest the need to look outside of architecture, and that the necessarily elastic explanations can be found in other creative practices. It looks at the work of an educator, a visual artist, and two artist-architects who work within a minimalist genre. This shift from everyday images, through case studies, to creative process highlights the importance of a creative agency in the coherence of a practice of lived modernism. Crossing between formal and everyday words, these creative mentors have invented terms to describe their socio-spatial practices: the preparation of space (Montessori, 1914), *Prouns* (el Lissitzky, 1921), *pénétravels* and *bolides* (Oiticica, 1964) and Support Structures (Condorelli, 2009). These terms are their own, self-assigned practice descriptors that span between individual works and projects. I analyse how their practices deal with the intersection between social and material elements through the means of comparative diagrams.

I then translate these relations into a diagram for my own practice. Assigning a term to it which is non-deterministic but appropriately precise, I articulate the elements of my own architectural approach in terms of its material and relational qualities. The term - *transforms* - lies between verb and noun. It evokes John Turner's description of "housing as a verb" (1972), while acknowledging the importance of physical forms, and that the reuse of forms links the active and physical parts of this way of working. Intentionally, *transforms* is a weak and vague term, a sort of placeholder for whatever other name and/or form is assigned to those particular moments that play a light but precise role in the process of socio-spatial change.

The balance of the chapter describes the dynamics of such moments of change. It first explains the two generic acts involved - an archaeologic and a choreographic one - in the process of change. It locates the designer's intervention, the *transforms* at the crux of these parallel acts. It concludes by asserting the potentials for this reflexive understanding to direct personal choices of engagement through design.

2. the contexts of transforms

2.1 lived modernism

The African condition of *lived modernism* evokes a vision of infrastructure reused at scale and with great density and diversity, obliterating visible boundaries of ownership and functional zones. In this vision, the familiarity of the fragments of modern architecture that remain is contrasted with the intensity and exoticism of the present conditions of occupation. I am not alone in my fascination with such scenes. Global design audiences have experienced such images through a series of powerful and generically close documentations: Koolhaas's Lagos (arc en rêve et al., 2001), Plissart's Kinshasa (de Boeck and Plissart, 2004, Henket and Heynen, 2002), Tillim's Johannesburg (1995) and Maputo (2008), Stoop's Beira (Stoops, 2010) and Subotzky and Waterhouse's Ponte (Vladislavic, 2014). In these images, architecture appears as a decaying backdrop to human lives lived without the elements of formal work, functioning services and urban management that constituted the logic of the buildings' creation. In their place, people are shown taking part in a series of more or less improvised activities that mingle elements of tradition, in the form of worship or music or food, with icons of modernism, such as school uniforms, radios, paraffin stoves and cars.

The images constitute two unsettling and apparently contradictory visions. In the first vision, the developmental project of architectural modernism in Africa has lost meaning. The buildings are shells, void of any aesthetic qualities that are respected by their tenants, and impossible to maintain. In the second vision, the buildings are, on the other hand, highly lively and animated settings, replete with sounds, social relations and multiple functions. In this vision, they are preferable to the sterile modernisms of Western spaces designed to support order and cleanliness.

Such images of overlap, some of which are intended to provoke reactions by artists and architects, force the simultaneous acceptance of both readings. They represent a new thinking of contemporary space that accepts the critique of modernism's social determinism while holding out hope that its spontaneous use can revive the lost promise of modern architecture as a social frame. The intimately scaled flows of people and practices through which local networks re-establish themselves within the spaces of modernism suggest that the intersection between its physical traits and portable catalysts can open particular spaces to change.

2.2 theoretical contexts

2.2.1 after strong architecture

African modernism's transformation coincides in time with emerging critiques of modernism from within architectural theory. The critiques, like the images of lived modernism, contrast the limits of form with the potentials of lived space. It has long and well been acknowledged that architecture can be a support for social change (Dovey, 2010, Dutton and Mann, 1996, Ghirardo, 1991, Rossi, 1982), but the way this support is effected has changed over the last

century. The relationship between form and function within modernist practice gives particular emphasis to the developmental aspects of social change, such as education, housing, medical treatment, management, entertainment, transport and so on. The limitations of this approach, which could be termed welfarist, is that the building is considered a support for a linear process of formation for relatively passive human subjects. Post-modern architecture gives more emphasis to the role of the building in constructing identity through symbolic elements, so acknowledging that social subjectivity goes beyond a functional one. Going still beyond this emancipatory role, as touched on by architects and theorists in the 1950's and 60's and revisited through the practices of contemporary social movements, is the potential of architecture to become a form of social identity formation in itself.

This later perspective often sees the role of architectural authorship as subsumed within participatory and self-construction practices (Harris and Berke, 1997, Till et al., 2011, Turner and Fichter, 1972, Habraken, 1972). It therefore stresses the architect's task in creating new relational roles and open forms, rather than designing finite building elements and representative practices as in modernism and post-modernism. De Solà-Morales Rubió's term, "weak architecture" (1996:57) captures this elusive formal language. However, by acknowledging a different role for architecture, stripped of a welfarist or interpretive agenda, and with a new aversion to deterministic practices, we bring the risk of architecture disrespecting its own qualities of formal precision and the deliberate construction of social relations. With the relegation of authorship to the background comes a deficit of shared terminology and descriptors for this different role. The consequence is to individualize the responsibility for explaining architecture's significant potentials within each project.

At the same time, there is a growing set of affiliations being noted between practitioners through their representation by curators. Exhibition projects such as *Vacant NL* (Rietveld Landscape, 2010), *Torre David* (Brillembourg and Klumpner, 2012) and *Actions* (Zardini and Borasi, 2008) make parallels between urban, architectural and everyday practices. The practices of posting even small and unbuilt projects online, and the increasingly fluid affiliations of practitioners in such exhibitions and multi-actor public space projects has also created a rich field of reference and connections between them (Petrescu et al., 2010). But this collective work is without a professional orthodoxy or centre, and in some ways, those qualities are its strength. One of the few academic attempts to document such multiple projects, *Spatial Agency* (Awan et al., 2011, Till et al., 2011), used network mapping to link tendencies and influences. This approach contrasts with conventional genres of organising projects via typologies or location (*Architecture for Humanity*, 2012). The new commonality in architecture relates to strategy, and specifically to social strategies.

As the *Spatial Agency* website explains: "In Bruno Latour's terms, critical attention is shifted from architecture as a matter of fact to architecture as a matter of concern. As matters of fact, buildings can be subjected to rules and

methods, and they can be treated as objects on their own terms. As matters of concern, they enter into socially embedded networks, in which the consequences of architecture are of much more significance than the objects of architecture.” (Till et al., 2011). Their foregrounding of relational aspects of architecture relates to a global context where, in the absence of monetary capital, social capital is increasingly material for design.

Despite the value of everyday social practice in making architecture, it consistently risks devaluation. As post-colonial critics of western architecture such as Nalbantoglu and Cairns have pointed out, (Nalbantoğlu and Wong, 1997) architectural discourse has come to recognise that there are elements within self-constructed architecture that elude outsider naming, simply because the normative understanding of architecture as visible form is insufficient. Without a complete picture of architecture's embedded-ness in cycles of daily life, significant spatial genres can be totally overlooked. The flip side of this perspective is the misreading by non-westerners of western architecture, as evidenced in lived modernisms. In other words, architecture is simply built material until such time as its meaning within life is recognised.

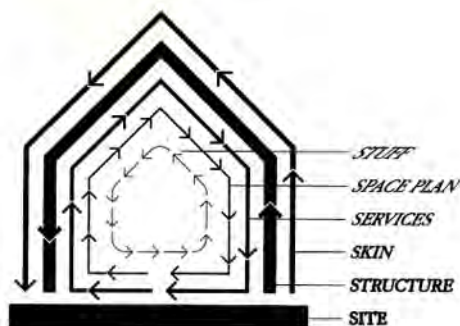
A further weakening of architecture's strong language arises through the growth of reuse. Modernist built infrastructure, unlike older buildings which are imbued with a scarcity value due to their initial rarity, craftsmanship and their very survival, is a ubiquitous and often ordinary kind of environment (Henket and Heynen, 2002). The logic of spaces designed as part of dynamic productive processes, such as manufacturing or even growing new communities, is a temporal one. After their novelty wears over, modernist structures become part of the urban backdrop.

Yet in surviving their functional lives, abandoned modernist infrastructure becomes part of a cultural Commons, while offering up only such value as can be creatively extracted from its forms and spaces in a process of reinvention. The very process of abandonment and reuse is what gives it a cultural meaning. As Arendt points out, “An object is cultural to the extent that it can endure; its durability is the very opposite of functionality, which is the quality which makes it disappear again from the phenomenal world by being used and used up.” (Arendt, 1993: 209). De Solà-Morales Rubió (1995) likewise sees the abandoned zones of the city as *terrain vague*, open to multiple interpretations. The cultures of reuse embed differences in the (re)constructed environment in ways that evade a singular typology for what, or how it becomes renewed.

2.2.2 the Commons

The idea that modernist environments constitute a cultural Commons¹⁹ is in line with them also being seen as an ecological liability. The expansion of modernism created an extensive material trace in the form of infrastructure. This human-made world brings environmental risks if left to outlive its productive lifespan without remediation. Although abandonment and reuse undo architecture's associative meanings, they imbue it with a new meaning based on the energy saved in the act of reuse. This meaning is the pure trace of the investment of human labour, energy and material in the making of architecture.

In parallel to the theoretical criticism of modernism's claims of social support (Lefebvre, 1991, Jacobs, 1961), ecological critiques of building emerged from environmental sciences from the 1970's onwards (Brand, 1969, Carson, 1965, Papanek, 1972). Tools such as cradle-to-grave analysis were developed to document the negative consequences of construction as a form of waste and the gains of building reuse (Preservation Green Lab and Frey, 2011, Kohler and Hassler, 2002). Brand's description of *How Buildings Learn* (1995) offers an alternative view to buildings as finite, proposing instead that buildings can operate as a frame for change over time. In an influential diagram, Brand analysed buildings in terms of components that had different lifespans: site, structure, skin, services, space plan and stuff. While the structure may endure over more than fifty years, it is unlikely that skin will survive that long, and services may be replaced two or three times in that period. In this view, buildings are not a single object but rather a set of changing components that potentially shear off and damage the layers that support them. This schema illustrates how in time, those elements that denote a building's original meaning will disappear, with only the most essential forms of structure and circulation remaining.



left: Brand (1995). Shearing layers of change

¹⁹ This idea draws on Hardt and Negri's (2009) definition of the Commons as not just Nature but the manmade world as well, as elements of the earth that all people have a claim to. Both public space and waste are included in definitions of the Commons. Arguably, abandoned or vacant infrastructure and buildings from the modernist period share these qualities.

2.2.3 recognitions of social emergence

Another dimension in the post-modernist theorisation of the constructed environment is the increasing value assigned to social space and the communities that produce it, within and beyond the limits of the formal spaces of buildings. Sociological analyses and observations of space (Holston, 1989, Gehl, 1987, Jacobs, 1961, Simone, 2006, Lefebvre, 1991) offered up for consideration the extensive associational and productive networks and activities that predate, postdate and simply evaded modernist institutionalisation.

There is also growing recognition of the value of economic activities that fall outside of formal manufacturing or service industries, such as Gibson-Graham's work (2008) on community economies and Castells *et al* on the *informal* (1989). In parallel, the term *extitutions* describes the emergent form of organisations that telecommunications and the internet support. These large and effective social communities need neither space nor a stable form to function. All of these exchanges have little need for formal architecture, at least in the sense that it has been normalised in the development of modernism and its later developments. At the same time, informal exchanges are often overlooked, intentionally or not, in the process of building. As de Michaelis puts it in an interview with the critical architectural collective, An_Architektur, "community-based institutions are neither fragile nor insignificant in the overall social and material economy, yet they can be vulnerable to forms of spatial planning that emphasize permanence and the absolute ownership of space" (An_Architektur 2010).

2.2.4 intersections

As Smith (1992) observes, there is a need for "scales" that cross between "the abstract" (which modernist space and forms both emerge from and represent) and "the lived" (social space and its traces). Though geographic scales are arbitrary, says Smith, they emerge as objectifiable elements in the course of following the material processes that shape a landscape. Meaningful social space needs to mediate between the diverse physical scales and geometries as well as the temporalities produced by the contemporary city. Although Smith is referring to the scales of geographical studies, his observations are relevant to architecture in that its practices have the potential to intervene and bridge between the different scales of the constructed environment and the networks and micro-technologies of subjects who use it. Smith's proposal to "conceptualise by following" further allows for quite diverse points of entry into this operation of linking, starting, perhaps, with an identification with the weaker subjects and the smallest scale of appropriation in the landscape and imagining its exponential expansion.

This emphasis on these minor kinds and forms of use as a point of entry resonates with Nicholas Bourriaud's perspective as a curator (2002). Identifying with artists who work "in the slipstream of historic modernity", yet who try not to repeat "its forms nor its claims", he likens their task to Lyotard's description of post-modern architecture, which " 'is condemned to create a series of minor modifications in a space whose modernity it inherits, and abandon an

overall reconstruction of the space inhabited by humankind' ". He then turns the negative judgement reflected in the term "condemnation" into that of historical chance: "This 'chance' can be summed up in just a few words: learning to inhabit the world in a better way, instead of trying to construct it based on a preconceived idea of historical evolution.". In the multiplicity of artworks referred to Bourriaud's text and through his curatorial practice, the social space of the art-work and art-world is expanded and bridges beyond the gallery to celebrate the growing agency of subordinated groups and identities in the city.

Although it is subsumed in a complex sentence, in using the term "learning to inhabit" [the world in a better way] in opposition to "construct" Bourriaud is making a radical proposition. The shift that he suggests, from a constructed to a constructivist approach has important implications for architecture. The constructed work separates the time and object of construction from its active life, whereas the constructivist rejoins these aspects into a single task. Moreover, "learning to inhabit" assigns a pedagogical role to the creative work that has to stimulate this task.

3. social MNMLSM

3.1 minimalism

I imagine a practice that addresses the exclusions and separations of modernism without losing its potential as support and scene. It would operate, as Bourriaud's artists do, in the aftermath of modern architecture, making minor modifications to it, in the hope of using the inherited physicality of architecture to accommodate its outside communities and materialities. Like scaffolding, it would exploit the porosity of such architecture and support interactions between its remains and emergent ways of being. I imagine it possessing a formal language that is precise and light in its physicality, systematic but flexible, accessible through its connotation as an everyday thing but, at the same time, clearly designed.

This imagery overlaps with the artistic movement of minimalism. Minimalism considers form as something with an essential potency not derived from assigned meanings but from internal relationships between its parts as well as its proportions, essentialist geometry, colours and other material qualities. In addition, the artwork, although minimal is intensely relational with respect to its context through dialogue with both its audiences and its physical context.

In an analogous way, the everyday processes that appropriate of modernist space rely on the de-signification of found architecture and its reduction to a precise, but functionally ambivalent formal framework. Like minimal art, the field that is developed between elements, and between elements and their viewer, creates opportunities for engagement that depart from existing hierarchical orders. In losing the deterministic intent of modernism embedded in its original function, its forms and spaces open up as a sort of maze or playground, a rich and differentiated field of possible interpretations.

But minimalism, as an art movement, exists outside of a functional context. By placing it in a functional role – by using minimal forms to provoke a consolidation of social relations – the discipline of minimalism can act as a critical response to design's (normative) tendency towards determinism. The strategy of a minimalist approach is to limit the amount of new formal material, relying instead on the richness of the surrounding field. However, it also deliberately seeks for a clarity in the authored work that marks it as a support for other processes, particularly cognitive ones that relate to a pedagogic role. This need for clarity differentiates the minimalist work from other temporal and physical elements in its context, while gaining its meaning from relations with them.

3.2 four minimalist practices

3.2.1 four out of many

I have examined the operation of minimalism through exploring the creative practices of four minimalist practitioners. Minimalism relates to lived modernism in quite material ways, such as the efficacy of its light but strategic gestures, its use of ambiguous forms and its response to found fields. Most importantly for my project, however, is that within the wide range of practitioners inspired by minimalism there are some whose concern is an emancipatory role for catalytic objects and systems that make up their practice.

The lineage of minimalism in art stretches back to the experiments of Russian Suprematist movement, aligned in turn with the radical insights developed in linguistic theory between early twentieth century France and Russia (Foster et al., 2004). The artistic movement spread with the diaspora from post-revolutionary Russia to the Bauhaus and coincided with de Stijl in Holland. North American artists, including émigrés in flight from the repression of avant-garde in Nazi Germany developed minimalism as a formal style. Through the designer Max Bill, minimalism also impacted on the Brazilian Tropicalia movement (Bill et al., 2001). Today, minimalism informs the practice of many contemporary artists (Meyer, 2000).

Out of these many practices, the works that specifically interest me are those that link minimalism to societal change. I have looked more closely at some works coinciding with the origins of minimalism during the Russian revolution, as well as the route taken by South American artists in merging minimalism with a youthful, post-colonial subjectivity. I also look at two applied genres of minimalism, in which minimal artefacts are designed as mediating forms for incremental human change.

3.2.2 Montessori: preparation of space; teaching aids

Maria Montessori (1870-1952) used minimal aesthetics as a support for education. Her training was as a medical doctor and she came to prominence as an educator of children considered as retarded. Called in to assist in the upgrading of the tenement area of San Lorenzo in Rome in 1908, she applied her pedagogic theories in the design of classrooms, systems and teaching materials (Müller and Schneider, 2002). In her summary of these methods, *The Montessori Method*, she explains the relationship between her bespoke designs and the child's identity: "our little tables and our various types of chairs are all light and easily transported, and we permit the child to select the position which he finds most comfortable. He can make himself comfortable as well as seat himself in his own place. And this freedom is not only an external sign of liberty, but a means of education" (Montessori, 1912: 84).

The Montessori Method illustrates a number of the teaching aids that she had designed, many using primary forms and colours. The aids were carefully ordered and arranged at levels that were accessible by the children, and any

extraneous material and furniture was removed. A directress would guide the children in the proper use of the materials until they had grasped them, after which they could continue to use them independently.

Montessori's designs, in reducing objects and physical properties to basic forms, are intrinsically minimalist. She was teaching concrete skills through them, but they needed to be abstracted from their normal situations. The significance of her design choices to my work lies in the relationship she saw between design and the process of learnt autonomy that was constructed through relationships. The teaching aids mediated between a simplified representation of the existing environment, its preparation, and the choreography of learning by the directress and the children themselves.

3.2.3 el Lissitzky: *Prouns*

For el Lissitzky (1890-1941), as a supporter of the Russian revolution, art was purposeful in its capacity "to order, organise and activate consciousness by charging it with emotional energy" (Conrads, 1975: 122). Between 1919 and 1921, el Lissitzky worked on a portfolio of works called *Prouns*, which he described as "the interchange station between painting and architecture" (Perloff et al., 2003: 50). He explored the potentials of free forms, distinguished by primary colours but unstructured by gravity or classical hierarchy, to suggest new relational structures. His secondary representation of his posters as street decorations (el Lissitzky, 1921) suggests that the installation of such images within real space might simultaneously conscientise the public to a new order. At the same time, this imagery recalls that of street protests and the banners of the revolutionary movement.

3.2.4 Oiticica: *penetrables; parangolés; bólides*

The Brazilian artist Hélio Oiticica (1937-1980) is known for merging the minimalist language of Concrete Art, influenced by Max Bill's 1950 exhibition in Sao Paulo (Castro, 2007:14), with the expressive lifeforms of Mangueira, a *favela* in Rio de Janeiro. His work evolved through a series of genres that he named *Nuclei*, *Penetrables*, *Bólides* and finally, by the mid-1960's, the *Parangolés*. This last series uses fabric forms, with participatory dance events. The relationships between freedom of expression and the resistance of the abstract frame of objects formed the work into what he calls 'environmental art', defined as "the eternally mobile, the transformable, which is structured both by the action of spectator and that which is static" (Bishop, 2006).

Oiticica also called into question the location of his works which, although exhibited as artworks, were intended for appropriation as, for instance, in the happenings that accompanied his exhibition in England. The "unconditioned behavior" of participants in the work pitted leisure and dance, as a source of creativity, against the disciplining of the colonized bodies of the third world as a labour force (Osthoff, 1997).

3.2.5 Condorelli and Wade: Support Structures

Céline Condorelli (1974-) is an architect working collaboratively in the realms of art, curation and publication around a series of themes that share an intent to devise new physical and institutional forms of support for art and life. The compilation of one theme, Support Structures, in the eponymous book (Condorelli, 2009), offers a bibliography of texts on “what bears, sustains, props, and holds up”. The text is complimented by designs for installations in an artist space run by Condorelli and her collaborator Gavin Wade, that change in support of the artworks displayed on and between them.

Condorelli often works with pine or pressed wood, curtaining and texts as material. The work (Condorelli and Thaler, 2013), *Things that go without saying*, a temporary installation in an exhibition space in Graz, creates support for 361 books on a stepped podium that allows for reading, meeting or viewing. The significance of Condorelli’s work lies in the interrelationship she proposes between a found context, her own work, and the diverse needs of other enquiring or creative subjects.

Right: four minimalist practices

1 a Maria Montessori (Montessori, 1912:frontispiece)	2 el Lissitzky <i>self portrait: the Constructor</i> (1924)	3 Hélio Oiticica Hélio Oiticica with <i>Bólides</i> and <i>Paragolés</i> , c1965 (Filho, c2010)	4 Celine Condorelli Support Structures (2009)
b <i>didactic apparatus</i> , 1912	<i>Proun Room</i> (1923)	<i>Box Bólide 9</i> , 1964	<i>Alterity Display</i> (2004)
c preparation of space (Montessori, 1912)	<i>Proun</i> installation	<i>Box Bolide 1 and 2</i> , 1963	<i>things that go without saying</i> (2013)

FOUR PRACTICES

1



2



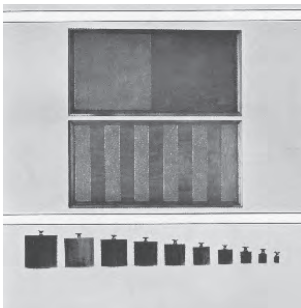
3



4



a



b



c

3.3 Parallels between practices

3.3.1 reading the field

These four practices grow from a close observation of other activities, specifically those on the margins of what might be considered formal or productive life. These activities are the context for the transformational act. The masses of workers in protests, along with their portable weapons/tools and banners; the actions and found toys of children; workers at leisure and artists at work; a community of readers - each of these scenes is closely imagined and present. In other words, creative work does not happen in a vacuum, but in relation to an imagined field of actors and the touchstone of their artefacts.

3.3.2 social emancipation

Although the practices of el Lissitzky, Maria Montessori, Helio Oiticica and Céline Condorelli span a century, they all aspire towards social emancipation. While the subject of this change varies - the working class, the orphan, South American urban youth or British art publics - it is enacted with reference to a youthful moment, an emergent state of being, that can be nurtured even within the limits of the present. This imagined, expressive subject is acting ahead of its physical context, suggesting a new way of being within an older envelope. The practice takes different scales, from the child-sized teaching aids of the Montessori method to the imagined street environments of el Lissitzky, but it seems to self-scale to converge around the imaginable (and manageable) event like the class, the happening, or the march.

3.3.3 objects as support

A second quality that runs through these practices is the use of objects as a support for actions. Sometimes as a passive backdrop and sometimes as an actively handled artefact, or a mixture of both forms, as in the example of Oiticica's hinged *bóides*, the object is a necessary prop for the event. These actions are imagined along with the object in an interactive way.

The support given for social change is not limited to the newly constructed objects. The wider environment itself, beyond the installation and objects, is prepared for action. This form of preparation is often subversive. It undermines the existing use and meaning of the environment. A street for traffic becomes a political gathering space, a space isolating children becomes one that enriches them, a London gallery is appropriated as a diasporic party space and a lobby becomes a destination for friends.

3.3.4 neutrality

In inserting the new objects and preparing the environment, these practices appear to work with visual and formally quiet languages, while differentiating what is created from what exists. The secondary support that is the existing

environment is therefore not entirely contested by the new, but brought into play. In this way the limited scale of intervention is amplified physically. There is also an inherent dialectic between the existing and the new that produces a sense of potentiality beyond the limits of the new object. The near-neutrality of the physical intervention relates to this desire to suggest, rather than contain, the scale and uses of the situation it produces.

In el Lissitzky's work, this neutral form lies in the chromatic schemes he uses, which work with primaries of red, blue and yellow, and shades from black to white, and in using or representing geometric form. The abstract arrangement of these forms in space removes any sense of gravitational influence or perspectival ordering. With reference to the considerable work in linguistic theory and practice exploring the potential of words to detach from preordained and hence repressive meanings, these forms simply suggest the possible arrangement of something new. Whether this is a city or a set of forms on a page, an organogram or a formula, is unstated. Their function lies in the representation of a spatial strategy for something to emerge.

In choosing abstraction in terms of colour and form for their objects as a starting point, Montessori and Oiticica likewise remove the object from a particular use. At the same time these objects are modified by the specific choreographing of their social use. They become props for a one-to-one demonstration of actions in the case of the teaching aids, or an appropriation by artists and their friends in the other. Just as Oiticica further supports this appropriation with another kind of object, a layer of everyday, soft and expressive fabrics, so Condorelli includes elements from the everyday environment as a prop to engage her users.

3.3.5 utility and autonomy

The utility of the object is defined by its emancipatory role. This function might be merely a model for expression, to be followed through by the viewers' fashioning of an analogous object, as in the billboard that el Lissitzky proposes, or it might be central to emancipation, as in Montessori's aids. There are a diverse set of distances between user and object, and a diverse role played by the objects from background images to critical objects.

What is interesting however is the life of the object beyond that particular situation. In the case where the creator is unable to continue to support the event or use of the objects, they remain present as a suggestive sign. They do not seem to disappear. They are often being picked up instead as suggestions for other works by other individuals. They become like tools: artefacts that carry a suggestion of use, that fit into a social consciousness and that get reproduced within the everyday.

3.3.6 on parallels

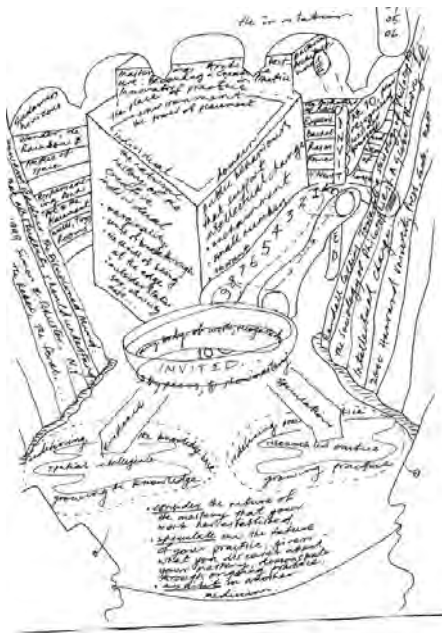
Summarising the commonalities between these practices, their shared identity lies in the relations established between objects, existing environments and emancipatory forms of life. None are considered in isolation. The appropriation of space happens via the object's staging and placement. The object exists to give support to a social presence and act within an existing space. This act demonstrates the transformative potentials of the object and inscribes the supportive value for a changed life into it, even after the event.

The object acts as a crux: it intervenes between the existing space and social situation, demonstrating their capacities. Its material and social qualities are brought together at an appropriate moment where use is apparent and yet uncontrolled, and where the object is suggestive but not deterministic. The crucial moment is therefore at an intersection between two emergences, one social and one material in nature.

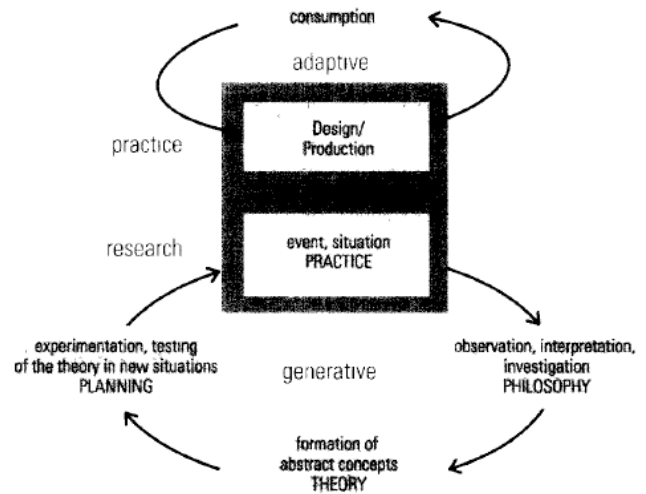
4. diagramming transforms

4.1 terminology and its traps

Although the four sets of creative practices are separate in time and social context, their commonalities lie in their processual relationships. As a way to explain this, I have drawn and paralleled diagrammatic descriptions of the case studies with a diagram of practice itself. The making of a diagram is a method to simplify and spatialise elements of a situation. In its position between language and image, diagramming fits well into design research (Van Schaik, 2008, Cross, 2007, Grand and Jonas, 2012).



left: Leon Van Schaik, ideogram of influences on a design proposition (Hendrickx et al., 2008:114)

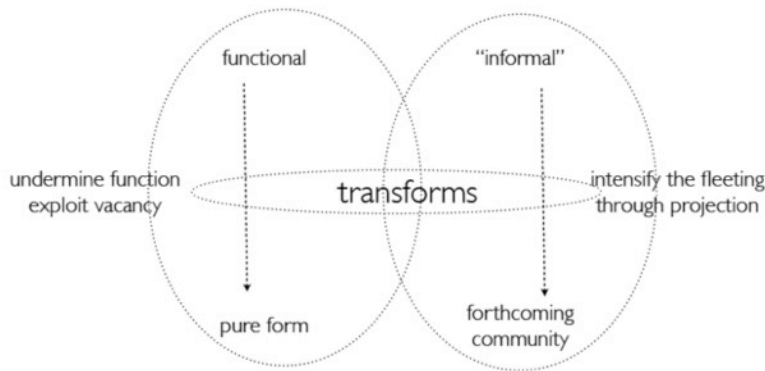


right: Wolfgang Jonas, design process model (Jonas, 2001:79)

Diagramming is useful as a reflective tool in its schematic inclusion of those elements that fall outside of many proper representations of architecture and society alone, namely the relations between form and user, fixity and change, and multiple processes. The *transforms* diagram that I have developed to reflect on the creative process, both mine and those of others, borrows from anthropological diagramming and isolates and relates simple actors and processes during the period of change.

4.2 *transforms* diagram

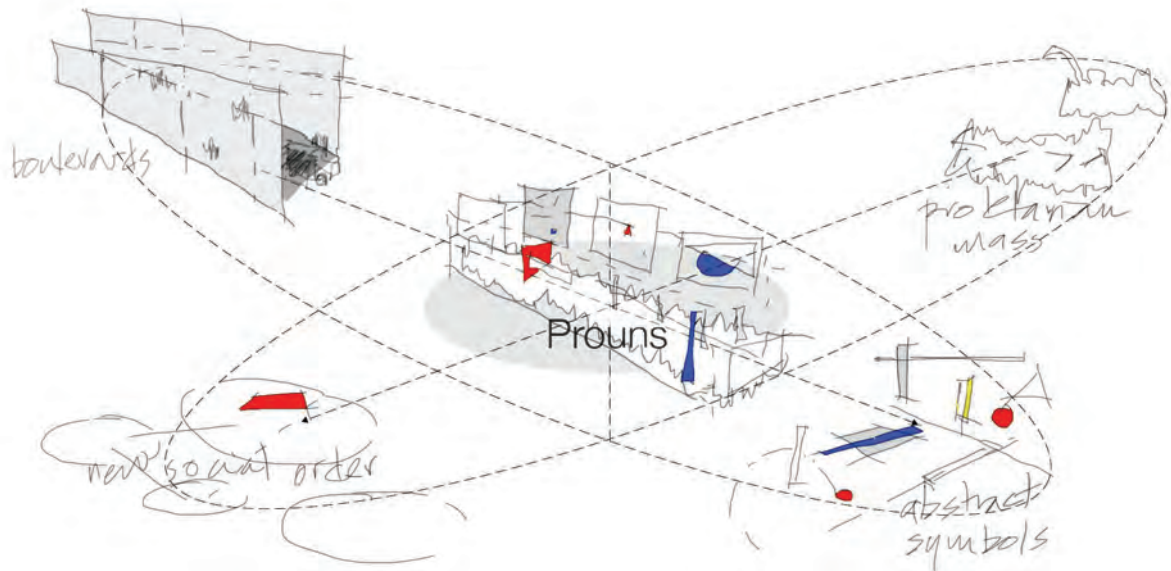
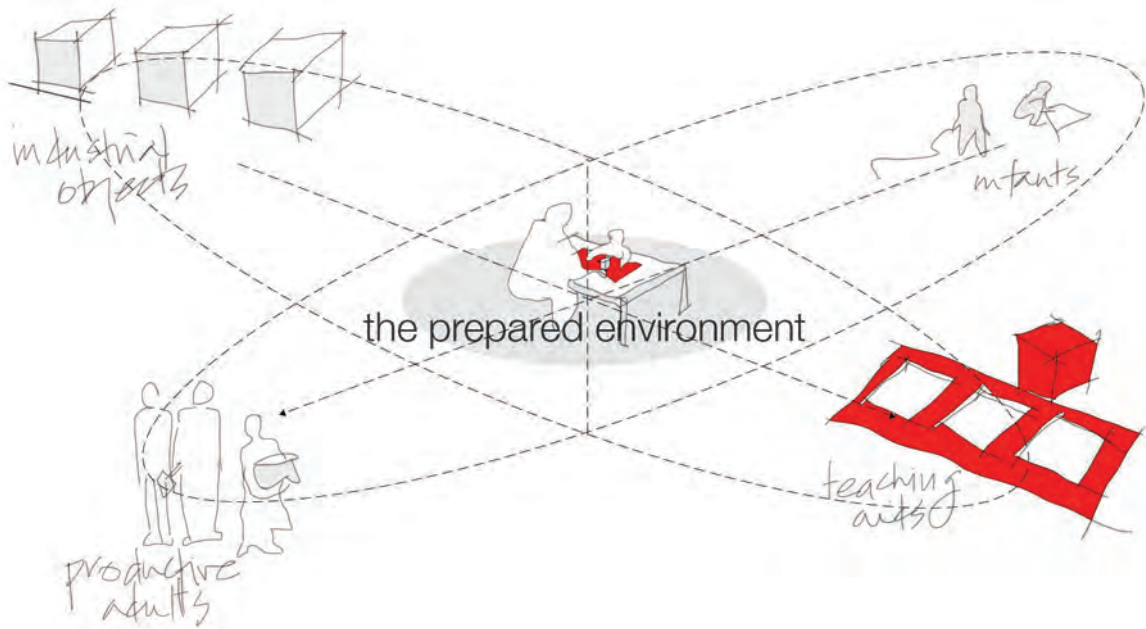
left: transforms diagram, 2012



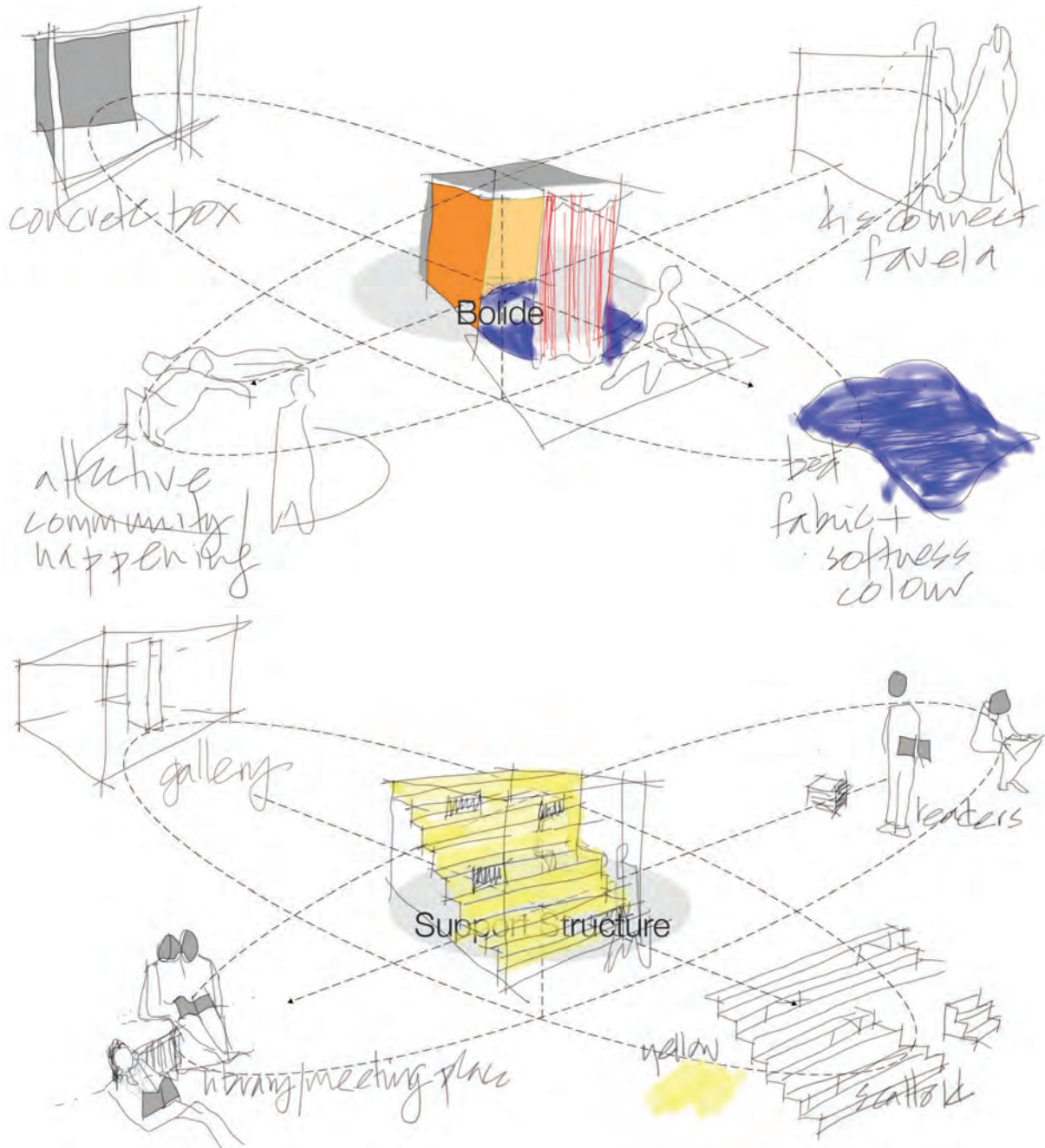
This figure represents the generic process of *transforms*. It separates out physical and social change in the process of creating moments of lived modernism. At the same time, it represents how the creative act engages with both physical and social aspects of change. In physical terms, the frame changes from a functional structure or space to one of pure form, without connotations. The process involved in physical change is one of undermining the original function (through misreading, altering, or overlaying) and of exploiting its vacancies, through processes of clearing or ignoring layers of use. In creating a setting, el Lissitzky's blanking of street facades, Montessori's insertion of the *Casa dei Bambini* into a project of slum clearing, the white cube spaces of Oiticica or Condorelli's actions, the neutrality of surrounding space is intertwined with the intensity of the transformation.

In social terms, the change is from an "informal", excluded or marginal status to a new community or identity. This process involves the intensification of the identities expressed through embodied actions, through a process of giving them actual or symbolic support. In all examples, the artist intensely identifies with the social subjects' struggle for recognition and rights. This identification allows for a passionate staging of their agency that projects the sometimes fragile, and usually temporal gestures of the subject, assigning them a more intense presence.

The crux of these processes occurs in the design of *transforms*. Taking into account both processes and intervening in both, the *transform* may not represent the final potential of each process of change, but it is a moment at which these potential outcomes can be most clearly glimpsed.



Top: Montessori *Prepared space*
as transform
Bottom: el Lissitzky *Proun* as
transform



Top: Oitica *Bolide* as transform
 Bottom: Condorelli *Support Structure* as transform

5. conclusion of part II

Although it is clear in images of lived modernism that there are radical possibilities through socially oriented acts of reuse, the ubiquitousness of these images lags behind the articulation of this process. In other words, we sense what it will look like when we get there, but the route is less clear.

In this consideration of transforms I argued that the creativity of artists and activists committed to social change, working within the framework of the modern city, has crystallized processes within their own work that are analogous to lived modernism. I propose that the artistic process of minimalism is, in material and social terms, parallel to that of lived modernism. It uses little material; it responds to an intangible field around it; it activates the audience to respond without determining the response and it codifies certain elements as frames, supports, rhythms and other adjuncts to life. In these ways, they have reintroduced the agency of an outsider, albeit one passionate in their identification with the growth of their subjects, into a process with similar ends to changes that the appropriators of the African city achieve.

The usefulness of the model of these minimalist practices is that it adds a creative agency to a situational shift. It can stand as a model for how to conceptualise a practice, like the everyday creators of lived modernism do, through their habitual appropriation of space. Moreover, in the cases of applied minimalism that I reflect on, that is, practices of minimalism with a specific social agenda of emancipation or critique, there is further support for the idea of transformational practice. The four socially oriented modernist pedagog/architect/artists assign their personal terms to the work they do: teaching aids, prouns, penetrables, parangolés, bóldes, support structures.

Because the terms made up by artists to describe this process are personal, I have suggested that a generic and linguistically weak term, *transforms*, could take the place of whatever word they use. By clarifying its terms of reference, locating its catalytic nature, and illustrating its potentials, *transforms* becomes the necessary, open descriptor for creative practices that catalyse significant moments of change.

The term - *transforms* - lies between verb and noun. It evokes John Turner's description of "housing as a verb" (1972), while acknowledging the importance of physical forms. Intentionally, *transforms* is a weak and vague term, a sort of placeholder for whatever other name and/or form is assigned to those particular moments that play a light but precise role in the process of socio-spatial change. The relational practice of transforms can be captured in a diagram that represents trajectories of change. The crux of change is where the transform is effective in bridging between found and imagined situations and lies in a temporal moment, despite its physical content.

III. PRACTICE TRANSFORMS

“Instead of imagining research is a prerequisite of practice and that you need to know in order to act, we might like to reverse this logic: you act in order to know. It is a kind of epistemological intervention that may help frame the way we see artistic, architectural and cultural practice as the production of knowledge through form, and not the other way around.”

Eyal Weizman (Brandt, 2010:245)

The practice based element of this doctorate involves the design and realisation of three micro-projects. By functioning as “design probes” (Seago and Dunne, 1999) they extend my existing practice into self-chosen contexts, and have allowed me to evolve, confront and demonstrate the concept of *transforms* within contexts of change. These projects use design to make an autonomous spatial form and to provoke something new in reaction. They involve design to construct form in the most minimal and elemental way, to support the emergence of something beyond form: activities that may already exist without permanent space.

Building on my documentary work to locate them, these projects involve real communities and activities and these, by choice, are on the margins of formal institutions. The project engages with these communities through voluntary and reciprocal activity. The probes and events they support are designed to be partly temporary and capable of being constructed lightly and independently by a semi-skilled workforce. Their role in the doctoral process is to demonstrate my own capacity for concrete and social practices, to experiment in using those practices to create new situations, and through reflection on them, to generate new theoretical and practical knowledge.

These small interventions are sited in a broad, dispersed area in some flux, because of demographic change, or shifting political attitudes, or changing public policy. They relate directly to their immediate context in that their function derives from, and supports, everyday human activities that already exist. They are proposed as an extension of the existing situation. These catalytic formal gestures are intended to crystallize a process of change over time, through a layering of other gestures, through physical occupation and activity, or through improvements made in the

process of occupation. The intention of design is therefore not to conclude a process but to provide a moment of situational clarity in that process.

Each project has come to have its own title, which replaces the placeholder term of *transform*. The KwaThema Project simply uses the generic term “project” to capture the multiplicity of aims, while sticking close to the term that architects use for their work. The soccer project came to be called “PITCH”. This term, like “project”, is both a noun and a verb, in the latter case it relates both to throwing a ball as well as the presentation of an idea for a campaign. Within the process of the project, however, there were sub-projects - the white line unit, and open fields soccer. The inner city project began life as “BOX” and included coffeemanifesto and feedingspace as projects within projects. The final projects came to be called BunnaBet [location name] to suggest the replicability of strategy and the uniqueness of site.

The *transforms* themselves are embedded in the complexity of design research in real contexts, in the duration of the larger study, and in communities in change. At many times, unsurprisingly, given the conditions under which my collaborators lived, the need for other forms of intervention, whether policy, funding, training or formal organisation seemed more urgent and potentially more transformational than the execution of a design probe. Despite that, each material intervention provoked a shift. The narratives of these projects therefore focusses on these designs and the changes.

1. THE KWATHEMA PROJECT: PRACTICE TRANSFORMS





CARWASH

LOVE LIFE
USE A CONDOM

1. the pilot: KwaThema

1.1 overview

The KwaThema Project (2007) dealt with design and social change in a context of lived modernism. The methodology of the doctoral work draws closely on approaches that I developed for, and during the course of this earlier project. It represents a hybrid - pedagogical, research and designerly - practice that combined a situated enquiry into diverse spatial practices with design-build practices that bridged between them²⁰. Having initiated documentary work in the context of this model modernist township in 2005, in 2007 I received a research related award that funded the future design and execution of micro-projects there through the medium of a design-build studio²¹. The external funding also allowed me to work directly with local residents and independently of State channels to execute the Project. This freedom to act in relation to spaces without overbearing planning processes or bureaucracy allowed for the collaborative execution, led by ten students of architecture, of seven small, full scale design interventions in the course of seven weeks.

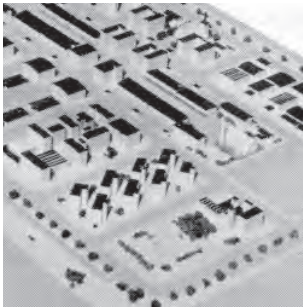
This project narrative explains my motivations in working in KwaThema, the questions raised by the context and articulated in the Project, and the approaches that emerged within the process as a whole. The narrative needs to be read in conjunction with the visual essays that capture documentation from the project at the time. The construction of a timeline has been overlaid with tags for these strategies that came into play and clusters of activity that relate micro-techniques with broader themes of work.

²⁰ Although the KwaThema Project research and project brief and the grant that funded it were my personal work (le Roux, 2007a), the community participation, design-build elements and reflective elements were to different extent collaboratively authored and so fall outside of this individual doctoral work, but all deeply informed my doctoral methodology.

²¹ The grant was awarded by The International Design Forum, Ulm, for €15 000, under their 2007 call, The Politics of Design, on the basis of a written proposal and a presentation and interview to the jury (SPITZ, R. 2012. *HfG IUP IFG: Ulm 1968-2008*, Ulm, Design Forum IFG Ulm.).

KWATHEMA IN THE 1950'S (CALDERWOOD, 196-)

1



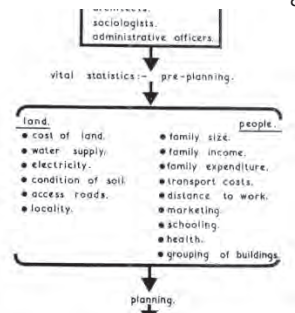
2



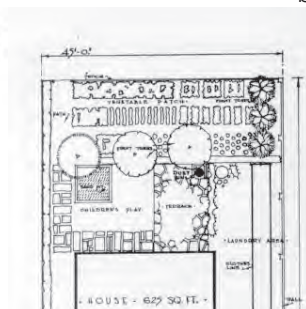
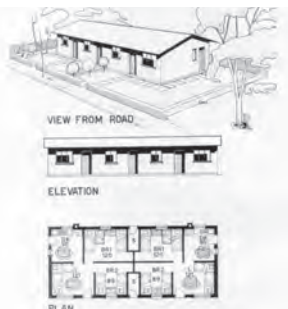
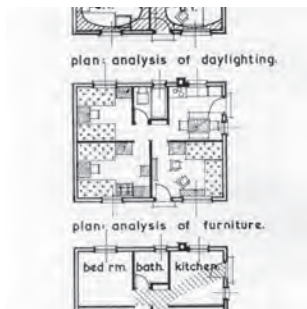
3



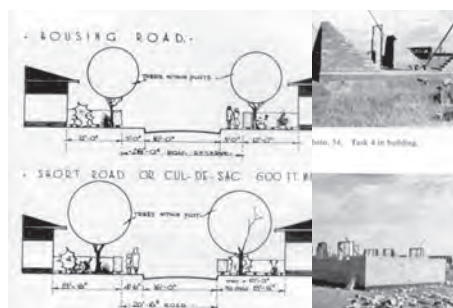
4



a



b



c

1.2 KwaThema as *lived modernism*

The township of KwaThema, built near Springs on the East Rand of the Witwatersrand in the early 1950's, has a canonic status in South African planning and architectural history as the first racially segregated town for blacks built along modernist principles. It was used as a testing ground for the rational housing types developed by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) (Japha, 1986). The township's principle designer was Douglas Calderwood, whose book (195-) and dissertation (1953) describe many of his intentions. Calderwood wanted KwaThema to be an ideal social microcosm for urban black living; he aspired to matching household income with rental, to mix income levels, to construct appropriately sized neighbourhood units and to optimise the location and levels of social services in relation to housing. Garden City principles allowed each housing unit to reap the social benefits of land, in the form of a space for growing fresh produce, and by spacing houses from each other and giving children access to outdoor play space.

However, Calderwood's designs for public space in KwaThema were never fully executed. While the township model had been conceived in a liberal, post-war period, it was implemented after the 1948 victory of the National Party. Because the Party agenda was the "separate development" of racial groups, black South Africans were then deemed to be temporary visitors to the city, without access to any facilities other than the bare minima for life (Nel, 2009, Bonner et al., 2012). The design for KwaThema was implemented, without Calderwood's final control, in a way that omitted many social proposals and that conflated the neighbourhood space with one of ethnic and racial segregation. His green belts became "buffer zones" to enforce such separations. Nonetheless his scheme remains a powerful order in the township, the consequence of an era of modernist planning in which everything had a place and function, even if that function was simply separation.

Sixty years later, KwaThema is an area in crisis. Built to serve industry and the mines, its population has grown beyond the labour requirements of these fast-disappearing employers. Its residents struggle with high levels of unemployment, poverty and crime, poor schooling, post-mining pollution, the flight of well-educated residents and weak delivery of public services. The 2011 Census gives a population of about 100 000 people, an unemployment rate of 40-50% and median household income below €4000 per annum (AFRIGIS, 2012).

A second order in this township has grown out of peoples' reactions to the breakdown of the original economy. In the place of formal employment, for instance, people had started their own small businesses, selling goods and services in and around houses. Most houses have been extended to provide for tenants and larger families. Vacant land has been appropriated for housing, planting and leisure. At the extreme of this set of self-reliant practices, there are actions against the state. From 1976, black youth used their bodies as weapons against the discrimination of apartheid. Their actions partly destroyed infrastructure including state-built school buildings, beerhalls and police

stations, while at other moments they organised “peace parks” on the vacant grounds of the townships. These actions had a direct effect on social relations in the township, which increasingly became what Bozzoli (2004) calls a “theatre of resistance” against the apartheid state and its police and local government.

KwaThema was formed and transformed through these powerful orders: modernism and resistance. What interested me was how, in the post-apartheid political climate, this site continued to change. It could be said that an accommodation has been reached between extremes. The logic of planning had been abandoned, but its products created a framework for action. Similarly, the impetus for extreme violence had gone, but the culture of self determination that underscored it had become manifest in a creative, undisciplined set of spatial practices. The actions and reactions of these two agents of spatial change in KwaThema sometimes involved overlapping, though radically different, engagements with the same sites. Their means of employing power are similarly different but opposed: modernist design against the direct engagement of the mobilised, self-reliant body.

In the 2007 application to the IFG for a grant to fund design probes as a means to research this context and to mimic such hybrid uses of space, I asked:

“what contemporary significance can emerge from such once “powerful” sites today. Can a process of remembering, revisiting, interrogating, and reshaping such sites feed the dialogue about the broader questions around design and power, while at the same time producing tactics for operating at a local scale? Can a secondary process, of documenting and making known both near-forgotten histories and contemporary reactions, prompt people in other places to recognise the potential for analogous interventions in their own context?”

KWATHEMA PROJECT SITES

CHESS PARK

LAUNCH ROUTE AND MINOR PROJECTS

BEER HALL

KWATHEMA PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

1

2

3

4

a



b



c



KWATHEMA PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

1



2



3



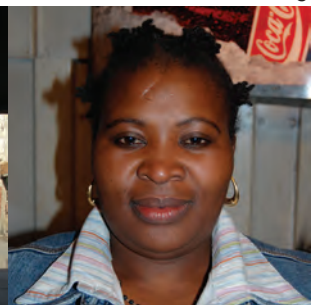
4



a



b



c

1.3 seven weeks in KwaThema

1.3.1 overall project

The initial research in KwaThema had used archival plans and oral histories to understand how its housing had changed. In the process, I learned to follow residents' advice and connections, through paired work between local scholars and my students. In the 2007 design research, I extended the scope of research sites to include documentation of public open space and the strategies used to appropriate it. I asked my students to focus on under-defined or open areas that had been appropriated by residents. Two of these sites were selected on the advice of Tseleng Phala, a township resident and architecture student and allocated to the students as the context for design-build projects.

These two major sites were the Beer Hall and the Chess Park. The former was a double volume, concrete framed structure that had been attacked with firebombs in 1976. Beerhalls were unpopular with families as beer sales had contributed to alcoholism in the community and they were run by the state's unpopular rental board (Pohlandt-McCormick, 2005). The Chess Park is a park and adjacent container structure on the land of Anthony Shoba, an entrepreneur and activist who was self-employed since the 1990's and had run a series of businesses from the container and park. These culminated in children's chess classes and tournaments, run by Anthony and his friend Tsepo.

The KwaThema Project followed a three stage process: the identification of physical sites; the documentation of spatial and social strategies around these sites; the creation and execution of a design to intensify the use of each site. The documentation of the process happened at the same time. To keep track of the fast evolving projects, we met weekly near one of the sites at an open session where progress was discussed. We also used journals (uploaded to a blog, <http://www.kwathema.net>) and presented photography and drawings of the built work. The project documentation thus includes reflective journal keeping about the event of constructing and using the spaces, and documenting the many participants who joined the project (le Roux, 2008a). At the end, diagrams documenting the social networks around the two projects were drawn up.

In addition to the design and build projects, each participant located and documented one local constructional technology, such as the reuse of shipping containers, the appropriation of adjacent public space through paving, landscaping and sign-writing, and the temporary infrastructures of markets, funerals and church meetings. By committing to build within seven weeks and a small budget, we had to reduce the design-build programmes to minimal elements. In the process, the balance between the role of the constructed elements, our initial concern, and socially produced space shifted.

1.3.2 The Beerhall as focus

The Beerhall in particular was a vivid scene of this transfer of agency. The initial proposal for the site excluded any institutional or private ownership, and as a result we had worked without consultation with people from its neighbourhood. As a ruin, no-one owned it, and the proposal developed by the students retained this open status while making it safe and accessible to children and youth. The Beerhall's project development contrasted with the project at the Chess Park, which was closely managed by the Park's entrepreneurial boss, Anthony Shoba, who monitored all participation. At the Beerhall, in contrast, both the physical project and its team evolved through an apparently organic and consensual process. It became an extraordinary model for transformative design.

Without being called on, representatives of local youth, who had seen the activity on site at the Beerhall requested that they join the project. We gratefully included these youth who waited from dawn to join the students in removing rubble, refuse and vegetation from the surroundings. This highlighted the act of cleaning and emptying as a precondition for reuse. Although the new use and ownership was not yet apparent there was a shared and embodied understanding that any existing uses needed to be neutralized. At the same time, the physical structure was repaired and made safe for occupation. The students consulted with an engineer to locate steel props to support the concrete beams that had been damaged over time. They put up balustrades around the periphery to prevent people from falling over the edge.

The provision of services, including water and electricity but also surveillance and maintenance became a critical issue. In this matter the do-it-yourself crew began to take on normal issues of formal government, but they did so through informal means, stringing hoses and cables from nearby houses and borrowing equipment to clear up. The central space, originally designed for drinking under the watchful eyes of officials on the upper floors, was inverted to become a ball court, with a secondary set of random painted lines to suggest that the rules of play were open. This preparation of space culminated in an event that linked the sites through a carnivalesque march between them. A children's choir, dancers, a chess tournament, prize giving ceremony and lunch brought in hundreds of people associated with the project.

The launch event became the most important singular output of the overall project. In this short, intense time and space, the work of seven weeks crystalized in a demonstration of appropriation, and a profound shift in use and ownership of the sites. Through their participation in clearing it, looking after it, playing in it and finally signing it with their own names, they became collaborators in its production as a temporal social space. The elements of design provided the platform for the event, and the performances of the community provided a focus, but the achievement of the studio lay in the co-existence of both aspects in a fitting manner. The reflective process provided a

confirmation, through the words of the student and community collaborators, of the event's significance as an intersection between multiple contributions and spaces that somehow pointed towards new possible worlds.

1.3.3 conflicting perspectives

"We were well on our way to completing the structure, as envisioned in our plans until about half way through the day when a visit from Hannah and the German funders, Bernt and Christopher completely moved the goal posts. We found ourselves in an awkward situation, immediately having to defend our process and decisions, as our entire working strategy was suddenly under question. We grew increasingly alarmed when our entire progress, of which we have two weeks left, was suddenly halted with suggestions that essentially called for us to downscale massively, or shift direction immediately. The grand plan was replaced by ideas of spontaneity and most importantly, process. We all felt that we had been guided in a general, albeit goal orientated direction and were suddenly left to defend why we had taken that direction in the first place. After this interaction we were left in complete flux, politics of design indeed."

Guy Trangos May 10 2007

Midway through the process, when the student designs were complete but construction had barely started, two mentors sent by the Project's funders, Christopher Dell and Berndt Kniess, flew from Germany to engage with the studio (le Roux, 2008a, Spitz, 2012). Their opinion of the work done to that point was somewhat critical. In their eyes, perhaps seeing township culture as an authentic and autonomous domain, and the students and myself as outsiders, the work that had been done on the Beer Hall was insufficiently grounded in a process of community needs analysis and consultation. I defended our choice to sidestep the unviable timelines and protocols that had been requested in our first Council meeting and to commence instead with design of a speculative and un-negotiated intervention. Community participation in a formal sense ahead of the design-build process would have delayed and made our own participation impossible. It also posed the risk that someone else would claim the site, which would almost certainly have resulted in the structure being allocated to an organisation, fenced and formally programmed.

Simultaneously, the student group working at this site had developed a design that would cost more than the project budget to execute. Their solution to the lack of time and funds that this scale would create was to approach external funders, specifically the South African Breweries, to pay for additional workers and materials. I also vetoed this proposal. I had multiple reasons to do so: the ironies of using alcohol profits in the rehabilitation of a structure destroyed in protest against alcoholism, the students' self-promotion through their privileged association with corporate funders and their proposed use of paid labour (township volunteers had been working for free, sharing only a meal at the end of the day).

Both my mentors and students were upset by my refusals. However, the success of the project lay, I believe, in its failure to fully satisfy either side of their concepts of completion. The lack of completion instead opened up the capacity for the project to host unforeseen futures. Un-owned, but rehabilitated as a frame, it became available instead, albeit temporarily, to the most under-represented members of the community: the youth and children. Built only by students and volunteers, although it remained a fragile intervention, it was a gift executed without cost and hence without expectations of return for any institution, political group or company. The value that emerged, instead, lay in the knowledge production that it represented, and which came about through the process of reflection-in-action. It was precisely this knowledge that constituted the return on the considerable time and energy that the collaborators gave to this project²².

1.4 adapting the KwaThema Project as a model

The KwaThema Project studio was concluded after the launch event. However, I continued to visit KwaThema with the hope of consolidating both the physical and social structures that the project had initiated²³. On one of these visits I met a self-organised group, The Imvelo Youth Development brigade, that had been formed by three of the volunteers who had participated in the Beerhall project in 2007. This group became my partners in the construction of the PITCH project. In this way the approach of the KwaThema Project was carried through collective memory into my doctorate.

The KwaThema Project serves as a model for the methodology of the subsequent doctoral projects in a number of ways. Its staged process of siting, social mapping, and realising and documenting a design/event to catalyse transformation are repeated. The setting is generically similar in that both KwaThema (used again as a site) and the inner city represent post-functional modernist environments. In this respect they rely on a dialectic situation as both the problematic and the material that frames a designerly response. The critical differences between the KwaThema Project and the doctoral projects, PITCH and BunnaBet, arise from the shift from a collectively executed project towards an individually managed one, with more careful documentation with every aspect of the process including broader reflection on the significance of design within specific and generic domains. The latter are also, by virtue of being unaided and reflective, much slower projects.

²² This knowledge is certainly reflected in the subsequent work of many of the student participants as well as the volunteers who remain involved in my KwaThema work, and the process has been disseminated in several talks and through the website.

²³ After several meetings with participants it became clear to me that the collaborations that took place during events were temporary in nature and not in need of consolidation outside of formal political structures. Instead, the nature of KwaThema's public realm as a constellation of under-recognised, small and episodic event-spaces began to shape my form of practice.

The KwaThema Project was certainly design research, and supported as such through the involvement of the *IFG Ulm* mentors for whom design research is inculcated in their own practice (Kneiss, 2007, Spitz, 2012). It was also, by virtue of being embedded in my everyday teaching practice, a somewhat naturalistic form of research. The intentions and ends were simultaneously envisaged (the site, the generics of a spatial and socially oriented documentary enquiry, a constructed intervention and a launch event) and open (the design response, the participation and affective response of local youth to the events). Learning from the Project, therefore, the research methods of the doctoral projects intended to retain the openness of the design process while more clearly articulating these processes: contextual investigation, transformative intentionality, and the framing and choreography of events.

1.5 KwaThema Project timeline

The timeline illustrates the overall work over seven weeks on site, as well as preparation and afterlife. I have laid out thumbnail images of elements that represent the spatial and social actions, and tried to locate the combinatory moments and probes during the development of the project from site to event. The timeline narrates the progress of transformation over time. This was not only a visible change but a growth in the social network around the project, and an increasing clarity and openness to the frame.

In the text that follows I have used some of the students' and my own comments from the project blog to introduce the stages of work on the Beerhall site. The comments illustrate the importance of found objects and situation, the accommodation made between intentions and improvised approaches that characterised the experimental nature of the project, and the significance of the launch event.

BEERHALL CONSTRUCTION, WEEK 1-4

1

2

3

4

a



b



c



SOCIAL NETWORKING

PREPARING SPACE

PROTEST

WALKS

PLAY

MEAL

TEAM

MEETING

PROPOSAL

SMOKE

COLOUR

SKETCH

DEMOLITION

CLEANING

CLEANING

FOUND OBJECT

FOUND OBJECTS

COLOUR

WEEK -1

1976: BEERHALLS
BURNED IN YOUTH
UPRISINGS

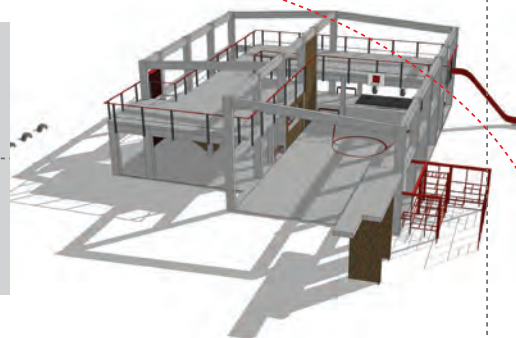
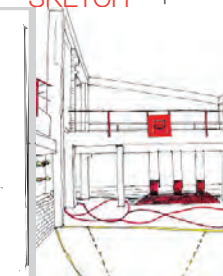
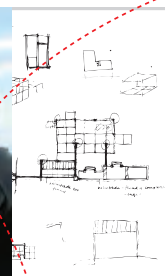
2006: IFG AWARD

WEEK 1 APRIL 9

WEEK 2 APRIL 16

WEEK 3 APRIL 23

WEEK 3 APRIL 23



SOCIAL NETWORKING

PREPARING SPACE

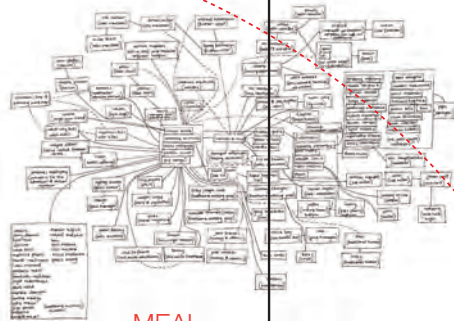
SPONSOR
Upat



MEETING



TEAM



MEAL



FRAME



CHOREOGRAPH



TEAM



EVENT



TEAM



CLEAN



PAINT



FIX



PAINT



PLANT



CORDON



SMOKE



WEEK 5 MAY 7

MENTORS VISIT

WEEK 6 MAY 14

WEEK 7 MAY 21

LAUNCH EVENT 25 MAY

WEEK 7+

AFTER

BEERHALL CONSTRUCTION, WEEK 4-7

1



2



3



4



a



b



c

2. elements of practice

2.1 overview

The KwaThema Project included different forms of documentary and action-based work, which interrelated in different ways, supported by personal reflection and collective discussions. The process as a whole intersected several approaches to space; it worked with mapping, both of the original township plan and of its contemporary use; with action, particularly in the period of design-build but also in a broader political sense; with design, as a way of working through non-verbal media to re-form both temporal and formal aspects of space, and (as both beginning and aim) with reference to critical theories of space. How these elements interrelated would be different in each participant's narrative. Collectively, they contain common thematics that help to explain how the experience of the KwaThema Project functions as a model.

2.2 archaeology

"we walked the sites, quiet and contemplative. from the chess park to the infamous indaba tree to the civic centre to the beerhall and to the houses. there was a huge and obvious juxtaposition between the well-kept yard and the abandoned, littered shells of ruins. post-apartheid i guess..."

Robyn Arnot, April 4 2007

The pre-condition for the transition from a functional structure or space, even if it is a functionally redundant one, involves imagining it without use, as immanent space. This conceptual clearing is not a negative change, but one that makes it into a transformational element, one that has a presence without a (yet) designated use. De Solà-Morales Rubio's concept of *terrain vague* suggests that such clearings have an imaginative function. Appreciated through photography, the sense of emptiness in *terrains vagues* evokes promise, "the space of the possible" (1995:120).

This archival understanding of the KwaThema site was contrasted with the experience of walking through the township, culminating in the Beerhall ruins which, as a powerful object and narrative in its own right of abandonment, directly engaged the students' imagination. My own historically informed understanding of the genealogy of these spaces' abandonment was useful in locating the projects, but played little role in the students' first reaction to them. That came later. Their initial response was triggered though images and then firsthand experiences of the sites. Photographing, being present in such places, and reflecting on their use are ways of keeping such reactions close at hand. At the Beerhall, the sense of openness in the experience of the upper floor persuaded them to retain this quality for the design. They also chose to run their meetings from its upper level, and in this way, from the outset, appropriated it while remaining open to the surroundings.

The earlier use did come back into consideration in the development of the project design, and guided the narrative of ideological inversion that the students scripted for the Beerhall. Towards this, the archives of KwaThema and our historical knowledge of the specific project sites created a lineage for the re-imagining of these sites. The power of the Beerhall Project in particular lay in the recognition of how youth in 1976, in torching the beerhall, removed it from an oppressive system that was doubly exploiting their fathers' labour and their earnings through institutionalised alcoholism. The narrative of the township's architect, Calderwood (195-) further made it clear how little concern was given to collective places for socialisation in the township. These historical perspectives allowed me and the subsequent student designers to grasp a critical potential for the project.

2.3 finding the fragile

“At the end of the afternoon the group sat on the upper level in the sun and talked through ideas, though people were somewhat reticent. One thing I think we are agreed on is that the structure should, to as great a degree as possible, retain its permeability. This goes against Tseleng's ideas for securing the ground floor, which is tricky because he is clearly deeply invested in the building, but we probably wouldn't have had the budget for roller shutter doors there anyway.

We had a lovely time with the small boys who were flying kites in the park and who moved onto the structure while we were talking. Jabu, who had an amazing kite made of a black dustbin bag, was inveigled – with Wandile translating - into helping us somehow incorporate kites into the launch – we thought perhaps we could have a kite building workshop and fly hundreds of kites from the building. Then Guy videoed the group of boys 'jiving'! Still not sure whether we should be roofing a portion or keeping the building open to the sky entirely.”

Catherine da Souza, April 16 2007

At the same time as the space was imagined empty, the students envisaged it hosting kite flying. The fragile activities around the site were seen in relation to the building. Putting the two together would guarantee the building's openness to the sky.

The fragile elements that the project supports are the playful uses of the park by children. This concern for the children, their games and their space remained a core principle of the project, and was defended against the claims of other, older and more organised groups.

2.4 imagining change

“the council had begun the clean-up but seemed to be running on african time. we were not convinced that they would finish on time.

children gathered to play – the skeleton animated into a jungle gym. they turned everything into a game. climbing, hanging, summersaults, down, climbing, balancing, hanging... younger children brought their kites to the open tract of land on the east. they were homemade: black bags, dowel sticks and a huge ball of knotted-together-bits-of-twine and wool rolled around a pencil crayon. the wind was perfect. the kites clapped and swooshed across the sky, occasionally crashing into the burnt earth giving rise to a little poof of dust.

the gymnasts braved our group. they said they wanted a swimming pool in the building! they “jived” for us and afterwards we left for johannesburg.”

Robin Arnot, April 16 2007

“We are designing an intervention which would make the building an extension of the public space around it. A safe facility which could harbour many community functions. A blank canvass for human performance. We see it being activated in a similar way that a park is activated by children, a place where kids play, parents watch. A tourist or educational element will be included where we would like to paint important parts of Kwa Thema’s history on the building’s soffit and columns. The largest intervention will be the balustrade, a preferably light element, resting gently between columns. A basketball, soccer, sports area will be included in the main volume where the patrons of the beer hall once sat, spectators will be able to watch the participants from the upper level. The volunteers seemed very happy with these ideas, now we just need to be meticulous and sort them out. “

Guy Trangos, April 19 2007

Once the space and the activities had been identified, the definition of the project moved quickly. A multiplicity of ideas were introduced that would animate the space. The next stage was understood as something that would require ‘meticulous’ work, which was translated into action through the media of sketches, drawings and a matrix of elements.

2.5 resisting bureaucracy

“The project, despite its lack of weighty, permanent programme, seemed to be working on a level that was beginning to fire people’s imaginations and evoke possibilities. One of the powerful ideas that emerged was the notion of transforming the angry, destructive energy of children and youth of the 1976 era into a more positive, balanced and normalised dynamic in which play and recreation took the foreground. A representative from the arts and culture department, Eddie Coetzee, became quite enthusiastic about council involvement and future funding, if we were to include a formal performance space.”

Catherine da Souza, May 3 2007

“our intentions in Kwa-Thema were made clear to councillors from different departments that we are not to trying to change the entire Kwa-Thema, but to have small interventions throughout Kwa-Thema to bring about an awareness and motivation of how the residents can improve their immediate surroundings and environment; maybe even create interventions that are sustainable and may bring about certain levels of employment.”

Karabo Masia, May 3 2007

“After lunch and after much protest I was voted by my group to go with Hannah, Catherine and Guy to a meeting at the Benoni Council to discuss our intervention with a room full of bureaucrats. The meeting was great- made me understand the philosophy of graffiti- its all about avoiding meetings to organise more meetings to plan an event like this, and instead JUST DOING IT. “

Thomas Chapman, May 18 2007

The Beerhall site was on land owned by the township administrators and we needed their permission to secure access to the abandoned site. The engagement with bureaucracy is a complicated one in the context of a self-initiated project. In particular, the tendency of the existing bureaucracies here, as in my later projects, is to scale up projects and make them generic and permanent. Nevertheless understanding these tendencies and intentions seems to be a necessary stage in defining a critical project.

2.6 physical preparation

2.6.1 material clearing/cleaning

“the project has taken so many turns and the posts have shifted so many times, and keep on shifting! we decided to base our decisions on the function or non-function of the space. we ensured that none

of the interventions that we were proposing would make the space determined or static or even prescribed for any particular use. we also considered our budget of course! and so the slide and the jungle gym were scrapped, along with the seating. we also agreed that we should pursue lighting more seriously with the council.”

Robyn Arnot, May 13 2007

The public spaces of KwaThema are generally neglected. The Beerhall was particular dirty, with old engine oil and broken glass scattered on the floors and the surrounding open space was used for dumping building rubble, household garbage and dead animals. The restoration of this frame began with the material clearing of the frame, an action that quickly brought new life to the building as volunteers joined in the process and it became newly imagined by children. Cleaning was the one activity in which the Council collaborated, albeit slowly. They eventually provided a front end loader and truck to gather and remove some of the mounds of dumped material around the site.

The uncovering of qualities of the site frame in the process of transformation supported the process of re-imagining it. By returning buildings to qualities of un-usedness, their physical aspects stand out. Clean-ups, which are part of the South African public's repertoire of participation, also presents an opportunity for external collaboration in the actions of change. Cleaning up also returns a building or site to a Commons, a place of collective and no ownership, and of shared responsibility.

2.6.2 found objects

“the anc volunteers were gathered around the central space and as we approached, we spotted 82 second-hand tyres that they had very diligently hauled to the site. we were overwhelmed by the quantity! as we began to mark the positions of the tyre bollards, we realised that the entire area where we had imagined them to go was in fact tarred! this would mean a huge amount of labour-intensive digging. and so we amended our previous bollard conceptions to suit the hard conditions. the tyres are to be stacked, 3 high, and filled with site rubble, which we had imagined would never be entirely removed in time for the launch. the tyre towers are then going to be painted and planted with a grass top.”

Robyn Arnot, May 5 2007

The Beerhall had the quality of being a *found object* or *objet trouvé* (Oxford Art Online and vv., 2013). This categorisation of everyday objects that are incorporated in creative works recognises that the choice of finding an object embeds it with some meaning, based on linkages between unconscious choices and the material history of the object. The Beerhall's physicality relates to the Dom-ino House that holds particular meaning in architecture due

to le Corbusier's interest in prototypical reinforced concrete structures as a basis for mass housing (le Corbusier, 1927). The ruined structure was therefore legible to architects at least as some sort of generic dwelling.

The additional elements that the students laid onto this structure were themselves presented as *found*, and arranged in a spontaneous way, reflecting a culture of ad-hoc making within the township as well as their growing enthusiasm for township aesthetics. Alongside the design-build project, they were undertaking research into township spatial forms including the reuse of shipping containers, pavement improvements, fencing, trees, mural art and ephemeral funeral infrastructure. These often strategic spatial forms found their way into the project in the forms of the mural, tyre bollards and planting. Another ad-hoc element was the ubiquitous beer crates that were used for seating during meetings and then selectively included as a screen element in their design.

The students also made use of gifts that came their way, including steel props that were donated to secure the structure, and plants. A final strategy to absorb the ready-made in the neighbourhood was their use of barter with children who collected bottle tops to create an interactive screen.

2.6.3 fixing

Joints are a critical part of the architectural design process, with both material and symbolic aspects, as they reflect and contrast or blur the new and existing elements of the structure. The students chose to colour all the new insertions red, contrasting them with the unpainted raw concrete of the found structure.

The reuse of the Beerhall structure was contingent on it becoming safe. An expert in concrete structures from the Concrete and Cement Institute assessed the environmental damage to the structure and specified where the steel props were to be placed. We also placed emphasis in the design on the fixing of some elements, benefitting from donations of high quality Fisher plugs for the balustrade uprights. In this way the structure's new role as a open support for play was secured.

2.6.4 coding

"on site, i assumed the role of tyre-bollard painter. the wind was relentless - we had strung up danger tape around our new grassy oasis and it flapped in the wind like the black bag kites. the noise was so serene and surreal. i felt calm and content. i was the sole proprietor over my bollards; my own agent. nobody to consult and nobody consulting me. my mind was still and my concentration intense. the tape oscillated insistently with the rhythms of the wind. i completed the khumbuza street bollards and surrendered to the battle of the wide brush upon the narrow treads. the white on black."

Robyn Arnot, May 23 2007

The colour coding was in part derived from the found colour of the drinks crates that were used as seating for early meetings. By extending red to all new elements, the design evoked references to red as a political signifier, which, in South Africa as elsewhere, still resonates with the South African Communist Party as much as it does with Coca Cola. In this sense, as well as being a primary colour, the red was an ambivalent signifier.

The other colour used to code the building was white. The bollards and road were painted with white lines to contrast with their charcoal base colour.

Colouring takes on a special role in this project, and in my later ones. It became a formal element that was autonomous from the relational and social content that was part of the larger project. At the same time this formal quality marks these objects as open signs, triggering their capacity for engagement.

2.7 choreography

"The evening roundup at 4 on Thursdays is getting more and more atmospheric as the days shorten.

The fires, both the one Stan personally braais our wors on, and the coal stoves all around, add a smoky haze. And the crowd seems to grow. This week the ward councilor joined our gathering, really enthusiastic about the progress that the students, action group and youth league had made.

The two big sites have been worked at and stand to be transformed by next Saturday, the launch of the project. There is less evidence of the five smaller projects yet, but something about the KwaThema project makes one relax about things. A plan gets made. Someone appears to help. The students discover resources: sometimes someone else's, but mainly their own. The group work is smooth and improvisational and there's always mutual respect. The ingenious organizational structure they devised where everyone works in a pair on the smaller projects with someone from the other big team of five needs to be sold as a corporate philosophy.

The commitment of the youth league members is also extraordinary. They've cleaned a massive area of the dumping ground around the beer hall by hand, and so by sheer human will power convincing the council to dig in as well with a loader and skip. At the other end of the scale, we sourced a tiny usb modem on Thursday that can turn the Chess Academy into our internet hub. And Lawrence, one of the volunteers has been introduced to the blog. More to follow. No doubt."

Hannah le Roux May 18 2007

The KwaThema Project was conceived as a form of critical research rather than as a form of humanitarian architecture. This distinction allowed us to withdraw from the scrutiny that is applied to public funded welfare projects, and operate more quickly and fluidly. As a result our relational world operated in multiple registers and generated an enormous amount of social capital in a short time.

The forms of responses from the community to the project was extensive; from the playful interactions of children, through the material collaboration of neighbours Mr Cindi and Stan Sibanyoni, to calculated political affiliations and outright hostility. No-one was coerced into any formal relationship. When we were pressed to engage through formal processes that would inevitably bury the project in red tape, we threatened to withdraw. The meetings that took place were intended as forms of communication. We had a weekly roundup close to the Beerhall site where each project's progress was reported on, and some social interaction took place. Our preference to a hierarchical organisation in nearly all aspects was the creation of teams working in parallel ways, with their own systems of delegation.

The form of management in the project appeared anarchic, but overlaid a tight relationship between sites and groups. The single, repetitive format for meetings was that once a week after work all the participants met for a meal. This was the only material reward for the volunteers, in a context of deep unemployment, but out of respect for the process, there were no requests for anything more. The sense of mutuality extended to circuits beyond the immediate crew collaborating on the project. For the participants, the process of organisation without obvious leadership was interesting. As I had done, an outsider observed the lack of a single leader and the fluid roles within the design-build projects with curiosity and admiration:

"This has been an awsum experience. You guys really did a great job and I am proud to have been a part of it. I was quite fascinated by the way you coordinated everything. There was no outright leader but you all knew what roles you had to play and stuck to them, making everything run smoothly."

Lawrence Mtembu, 28 May 2007

The students at the Beerhall project used play as an element to construct both physical traces and social bonds with the community. They arranged workshops but were also open to the informal games that took place around them as they worked. The cues from the playful uses that the children made of the structure came into their own redesign of it, a metaphor for the kind of use they imagined for the building:

"it finally became clear to me. the success of this project was not by any means based upon the realization of ifg ulm's designing politics brief, nor upon hannahs ephemeral agendas, and not even upon our group's sometimes controlling and most-times sensible and aesthetic considerations. its success was based upon the subsequent appropriation of the space. our space. the community's acceptance of it, in order to permit expressions of liberty and individuality. what we strived for was a

mouldable place; a jungle gym. an open-endedness rather than a prescription – a place where people would have a significant degree of agency over their environment.”

Robyn Arnot May 27 2007

2.8 moments

2.8.1 inversion

The students' spatial and social strategies overlapped at several moments of the project. The element that design introduced in this context was the creation of intermediate scales and scenarios that mediated between the frame of the Beerhall and the uses that the community found for it. In the process of re-scaling the first design proposal and resisting the mentors' request for social surveys, the students opened the structure up to forms of engagement that took place in the moment. These forms of *fit*, where otherwise fleeting uses found a home within the project, were sometimes captured through memory, photographs and text.

These images are multiple. They include the movement of children around the boundaries of the hall, filling its frame and swinging in and out. The choir on the top level, performing down to the double volume of the basketball court. The crowds on the upper level, raised above the limits of low-slung township housing.

The project also projected new possibilities for labour. The crossing over of boundaries between intellectual and manual work was simultaneously exhausting and liberating. The township youth who joined the project as volunteers began to re-imagine themselves as an autonomous work team, which they were to grow over the next two years through fund raising and free work. The students deconstructed the labour of building to include elements on the edge of craft, where children could participate in re-making the hall. Functional painting overlapped with art forms.

These moments created a fit between a setting with its source in the overdetermining and even debilitating system of apartheid, and a situation where users had significant agency over their environment. In this way the project drew on - and enacted - *inversion*. The Beerhall effectively came full circle through this process of radical reinvention. This is captured in one particular image: at the beginning of the launch of the project, an nYanga blessed the structure through communication with the ancestors, conveyed through the medium of smoke from sacred bushes (*impepho*) burning in a broken pot. The resonance of this act with the smoke of the burning Beerhall in 1976 was not lost on the students.

2.8.2 limiting intervention

"In this relative calm before the launch on Saturday, all the decisions and gestures that make up this project seem to take on a sort of clarity. There seem to be many, many minds and hands at work, and yet no real centre. Just some obvious ground rules. A budget. Design by consensus, but with allowance for changes and contributions. A timeframe, and of course, marks, for the students. But although there has been very little discussion about the visuality of the scheme, Tom sent through an image today that captured the commonality between the projects so clearly and simply. A family of projects.

What makes us imagine these moments as something linked? Is it the structure of the teams, or just a process of working on them at the same time? and what is being conveyed in these silhouettes? Something to do with the simplicity of each project, but also the fact of it as a built project, something weighty. The shadow of all the weighty decisions behind it."

Hannah le Roux May 21 2007

"In the late afternoon light, the red coke crates glowed. It struck me that we might have succeeded at setting out a stepping stone towards a redefinition of this area. We had certainly captured people's imaginations – by the end of the seven weeks, we were being stopped regularly by passers by to find out what was going on and to discuss possibilities for the beerhall's future. Its value seems to have suddenly been recognised by residents. It felt as though the beerhall, once invisible, had taken on a symbolic charge (although the strikingly iconic building always had a great power) and I hoped, perhaps naively, that the boy's power salute might speak to people of action and agency. The visual language we used in the end might be seen as a combination of local methods and materials with an urban, modern twist to illuminate a giant piece urban furniture. There was probably very little about our scheme that spoke to logic or functional need, despite what the Germans had said about the finiteness of our design and its relationship to high modernism – it combined a single practical element (the balustrade) with memory, whimsy, porosity. It allowed for contingency and change; it did not fix meaning."

Catherine da Souza 26 May 2007

What "fits" has both relational and physical aspects; it cannot determine use. It prepares space with emerging uses in mind, and these uses in turn complete the project. The Beerhall project was delimited by an ethos around functionalism that was both suggested by its structure and the experience it evoked, as well as practical restraints in terms of the budget and timescale for building.

functionalism that was both suggested by its structure and the experience it evoked, as well as practical restraints in terms of the budget and timescale for building.

Resisting the impulse to complete an intervention is a critical lesson - at least a lesson in criticality - that is at the heart of the difference between a probe and a project. The Beerhall was more like a probe than a project²⁴. Even the afterlife of the Beerhall, that left behind not a physical legacy of permanent improvement or restoration, but a crew of urban activists, was constructed by its process. In this sense the idea of limits is an inaccurate descriptor, in that the potentials of the probe in relational terms appear without limits, either in time or in terms of social connections. In the absence of material capital, the social capital that the project generated becomes the material itself.

2.9 afterwards

“What an incredible day, such an unbelievable project, such a successful result. Today the building belonged to the children of KwaThema, in the evening it was the youth’s. One volunteer never saw the end of the revelries. He was arrested for stealing beer crates and pulling out flowers. Here ownership was enforced over the building; we all felt it shiver as the police approached. Today resembled its demise, police arresting a youth for being a nuisance, as in 1976. They were asked to come out by those who seem to have assumed an authority over the building. Control is a dangerous drug. What honestly gives them the right? Their involvement in the project.”

Guy Trangos, May 26 2007

The management of critical projects beyond their time of creation is difficult, and some studio approaches are quite deliberate in setting limits to the time of engagement. Fragile communities cannot always sustain their participation in a new, speculative project. Academic timelines also vary between the short duration of a studio to the longterm approach of deep enquiry.

An early agenda for the KwaThema Project was replicability. In placing the project in the archetypal township, and concentrating on public spaces, I initially hoped to create models for projects in similar contexts. This became less important in physical terms than in relational ones by the end of the construction. What came to be the generic condition was actually that of politics, and specifically, creating and scaling up responses to an existing system that was over-structured and under-resourced. In contrast to the slow and eventually disinterested response of the local government representative to the scenario of reuse presented by the project, the local users were highly engaged

²⁴ In this sense, it contrasts with the Chess Academy which was an existing institution, and which was the recipient of a gift in the form of an outdoor chess board that was requested by them. No social change or use change happened in that part of the project, despite its clear value to its user.

and supportive of the process. At the end, however, signs emerged that the users, having acquired an awareness of management in the process, would operate in an intolerant way once the students were gone. However, as the building slowly became derelict again, their interest in its control diminished. The maintenance of the project would have required continued investment in both its physical and social openness.

2.10 representation

2.10.1 combinatory diagrams

Design deals with intersections of change. The process of design deals with the manipulation of formal elements to a point of fixity, in relation to ephemeral objectives. The objectives for design themselves emerge from processes of change: new spatial arrangements, the emergence of new technologies, or the changing identity of a social group. These dual processes of change are only limited by the need to define a point of stillness that can be represented in order for an object to be constructed.

Design therefore relies on the creation of two types of representation: still ones, which represent the materiality produced by design, and processual ones, which represent the context for the design. In a context of rapid social change, static representations of social and institutional space leave out much of the story. Social mapping, in its tendency to inclusiveness, is potentially without limits. Building, as a material act, is constrained by economy and physical limits. Because of this binarism, co-representing social and physical elements in an area can be a way of evolving very rich, but also very feasible proposals for physical change. However, it is not enough to retain scaled, diagrammatic representations of the formal context as a counterpoint to processual images without selecting strategies for their interrelation.

Within the documentation of the Beerhall, much of the students' work presented in public and for marking represented a proposal for the physical outcome of the project. Their private representations show a rich adjunct to these images. The fragmentation of their strategies to multiple, small elements - like the minor modifications Bourriaud (2002) refers to - in tables reflects the process in much more detail. The hand-annotated spreadsheets and sketches of Catherine da Souza, for instance, begin to express the complex co-ordination of time, materials and collaborators within the process, while the icons developed by Tom Chapman clarified the family-like nature of the simultaneous projects.



Tom Chapman, 2008. Logo for KwaThema project.

2.10.2 timelines

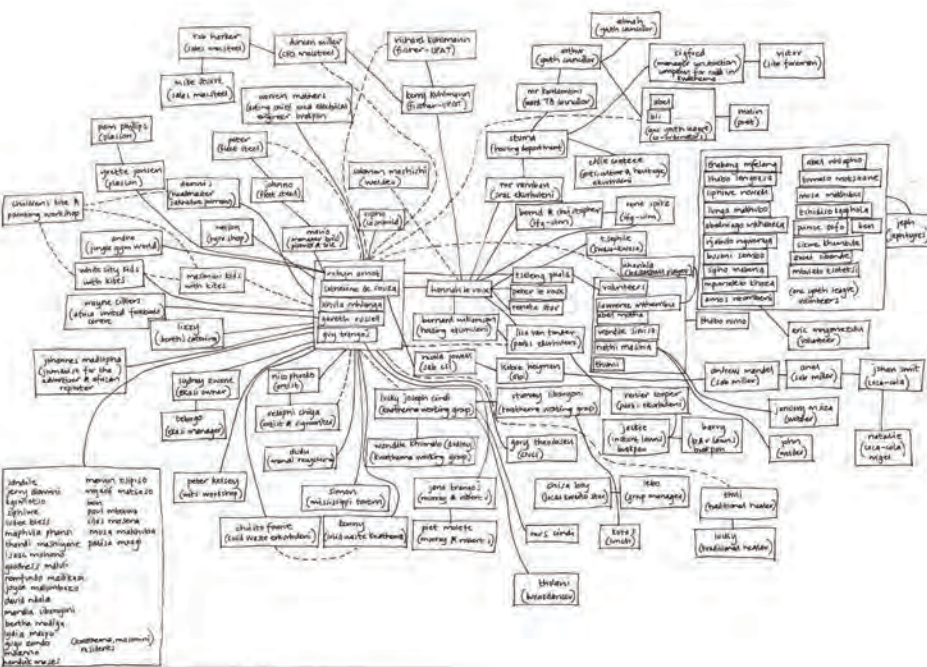
In both the planning of the KwaThema Project, and in reflection, timelines have become a core element to represent design probes. The continuity of a timeline allows the gathering of multiple small actions and physical elements into a single representation. It also creates a concrete representation of time itself, and therefore a baseline for a narrative of change. The timeline as method critically opposes design as artefact. Instead it focusses on process, including both social and artefactual production, as elements of design.

2.10.3 network diagrams

The rapid and informal growth of relationships in KwaThema was a remarkable feature of the Beerhall project in particular. Many of the actions of some of the project's collaborators were intended to include children in the use of the structure, from the time it was cleaned. In addition, the voluntary participation of ANC Youth League members brought many more hands to the project. As a way of recording this snowballing of participation at the Beerhall, I asked Catherine da Souza to sketch out a diagram of these new participants in the project from week to week. This remarkable set of images conveyed the growth in associations in a project that, through its openness to focussed collaboration, attracted over a hundred active participants in less than seven weeks.

below and overleaf: Catherine da Souza, KwaThema Project network diagrams. 2007.
Weeks 1, 3 and 7





2.10.4 representing fit

me: i thought of reducing things to a frame. cutting out almost all the stuff around. and then bringing it back in flashes. sometime snatches of sound. like ghosts.

you: maybe what i mean. the visual images stop way short of the reactions to them

me: at the same time they are all one has to hang on to

you: or that one has to show?

for oneself

me: if one made it conscious that things were being erased

you: siza?

me: i'd forgotten that

the rubbing out of lines...its more than that. its the rubbing out of interpretations

personal correspondence, 2007

In concluding the retrospective representation of the KwaThema Project, I feel that the representations of the process elaborated at the Beerhalls remain prosaic. What happened in the project had the quality of a great film scene or dream: a translation from one reality into another in a hyperreal sequence. While the photographs capture these qualities in part, they fail to capture the fragility that, in retrospect, was the most compelling aspect of the project. This fragility is what rendered the project critical, in that its slow loss, over the subsequent months of re-appropriation²⁵, contestations, sabotage, neglect and theft, reflected on the impossibility of a constantly utopian space in the context of KwaThema. The notion of a transitory image, captured through the medium of lenticular printing, is the closest that I can come to representing this form of change. In this way, the cycling between abandoned and lived space, and drawn settings and photographed situations, can be captured in a single image.

2.10.5 vanishing transforms

The final image of the Beerhall is one formed by later visits, where I witnessed the relentless removal of anything of any value from the structure. After the beer crates were taken for a refund, the metal chains of the swings went; the next winter, the tyres were taken and presumably burned. Attempts were made to take away the balustrades, and a political poster was plastered over the mural. Eventually, other than the painted words, the most enduring physical remnants of the incredible work are the steel props that keep the slab in place. Without them, the frame would collapse. No-one seems to have the nerve to go that far.

²⁵ Two events were staged at the Beerhall by youth soon after we had left. The first, a "bash" or open party, created tensions between the enthusiastic partygoers and the neighbours who objected to the noise and crowds. The second, a shoot for a music video by a well known House musician, can be seen as popular acknowledgement of the Beerhall's appeal to youth but equally upset the local community, possibly because of the implicit commercial use of a voluntary project.

3. conclusion

The KwaThema Project from 2007, funded under a design-research call titled “the Politics of Design”, has been a touchstone for the subsequent projects. As the researcher of the context, and the planner and studio teacher, I observed and critiqued but remained at a short distance from the dynamics at the site. Of the seven sites, the Beerhall project was of particular relevance to later projects. Defining the future use of this ruined structure co-evolved with its cleaning and making safe. This made it a model project that alternated and combined material and social intervention in the transformation of a found structure.

Revisiting the Beerhall project through the record of the participant journals and images, as well as physical returns to the site and meetings with the people involved, reinforced my understanding and adoption of the process. This narrative represents the trace of the reflection in action (Schön, 1983) that constitutes knowledge in such complex projects.

A large advantage of the KwaThema Project was the pre-approval of funding for materials and local participation. The brief of the “politics of design” (Spitz, 2012) was, rather than a welfarist grant, a provocation that called for design to be driven by an engagement with an understated set of political intentions. The initial desire of the students who elected to join the project was to make something for a township. The project mentors wanted the emphasis to be on social consultation. A stand-off between them made clear the divisions within our normative ideas of an architect’s role. The resolution that I pushed was to scale back each aspect and to co-evolve them, using the building’s frame and the active participation of the community as a third element in this process. The emancipatory consequences of this route formed the critical lesson of the project for me.

The elements of the project, filtered into social and physical interventions and grouped as moments and probes, are summarised through the timeline. This track of working informed my future projects. In particular, the significant findings were the lesson of restraining the extent of physical intervention when the formal aspects become too burdensome, or withdrawing from the participatory aspects when the project crosses into a deterministic, welfarist mode. The Project, it turned out, really came into being when the space resisted being someone’s project.

The timeline represents the multiple and minor elements that combined in the transformation of the Beerhall. Many of them were either local techniques, or derived from found practices and materials. The formal language of the eventual project was characterised by the qualities of material lightness and its sensitivity to the “field” of relations, performances and atmospheres on a site. These minor or light approaches to intervention were not incompatible with precision in design, however. The consistency of the project in terms of colour coding, the consideration of how the

activities filled various constructed frames, and the clearing of the adjacent ground gave the ephemeral interventions a strong presence.

In the immediate aftermath of the launch, the open nature of the resulting project became evident, as multiple and often agonistic claims on the space and its materials were staged. The promised intervention of the Council did not materialise and without possession of the site by a strong group, this reaction was understandable, but very upsetting for many participants. The mediation of the building with social processes then continued, albeit as an object that catalysed and now bears the trace of conflict as well as indifference. This condition links the project back to the ambition of critical design, even in its negative state.

For projects that work as transforms to act in support of social emancipation, their momentary impact needs to be extended. Yet this duration might well be in conflict with the ephemeral quality of the intervention. In later projects, I addressed this conflict through a creation of a series of projects, building on the previous or simply running parallel. The nature of transforms is to change without end.

2. PITCH: THE LANDSCAPE TRANSFORMS





1. overview

1.1 (re)marks

“Open space should be collected to form large areas; in the Springs layout the open feeling of the scheme results from this principle. Open spaces should not be enclosed by fences; inhabitants should preferably, be taught to respect trees, shrubs and open spaces.”

(Calderwood, 195-:200)

“The children seem to be fighting, but they are merely learning to inhabit their country.”

What is Sport? (Barthes, 1997)

“The field of play is marked with lines. These lines belong to the areas of which they are boundaries.

The two longer boundary lines are called touch lines. The two shorter lines are called goal lines.

All lines are not more than 12 cm (5 ins) wide.

The field of play is divided into two halves by a halfway line.

The centre mark is indicated at the midpoint of the halfway line.

A circle with a radius of 9.15 m (10 yds) is marked around it.”

Laws of the Game (Fédération Internationale de Football, 2007)

soccer/mom

I watched soccer as a soccer mom. Not for long, as it turned out my player was a cricketer by nature. But long enough to learn the ropes, to sit just this side of that white line, to follow the action with the emotional investment of a fan. The small mistakes, the missing, lack of concentration all frustrated me beyond reason. And the small victories, a great kick, and a precious goal pulled me, emotionally, right onto the pitch with him. Wishing for more, for that emotion to be unstoppable.

It is for that reason why I know why the lines are there. Like most fans, I'd pose a hazard on the pitch. The white line lies between us and the players. Soccer is full of natural emotions not only on the field, but for us too, and their entanglement brings great risks.

Consider the intertwined growth and spread of soccer with that of the modern military. It seems that all armies find sports to keep their soldiers fit and to play out the stresses of their work. And perhaps to train them, emotionally, to accept their role as proxies, as the boys sent to fight on behalf of the nation.

The term, pitched battle, refers to the interchangeable metaphor of game and battle. When soccer becomes like fighting, winning becomes so much more. It equates with survival.

But something - maternal? - in me (even after skimming 136 pages of Laws of the Game) remains unconvinced by the lines' authority.

Perhaps they are rightfully painted in chalk: liable to fading and erasure, and needing to be repainted each season. This fragility suggests that the space of the game, like the Laws, needs to be checked and updated before it is put down, giving the pitch, like the game itself, a temporal life. Soccer is, in other words, only a game.

journal entry, 2011

1.2 landscape marks and social goals

PITCH probes soccer's mediating role between landscape form and social transformation in South Africa. Soccer fields are unquestionably a form of lived modernism, in that, when the parks-on-paper or buffer zones constructed under modernism were left without use or maintenance through apartheid's social disinvestment, groups of young men arranged games. The ephemeral nature of the games suggests that soccer is an embedded social and spatial form in South Africa that can exist without formal structures, being constructed rather through embodied action. At the same time, soccer has an under-explored potential to support relations between young men, and between these men and their communities. Historically, it has extended capacities for self-governance in emerging South Africa urban areas. Intervention in these contexts can contribute through minimal structures and social choreography to a richer urban domain. The intention of PITCH is to provoke images of such urban and communal potentials within KwaThema, at the sites which have been taken over for soccer in the model township.

The path of this project began with a generic, visually based consideration of the ubiquitous earth pitches of the South African interior. This expanded, through the opportunity of an exhibition, into a more rigorous documentation of soccer spaces, through the medium of a study of aerial images and a stop-motion film of a rural game. These images, which I then engaged with through a secondary process of montage, establish the materiality of physical intervention in order to enhance their recognition as settings.

The visual documentation was paralleled with an overview of historical research into the enriching social role that was played by soccer within black urbanism in South Africa over nearly a century. It concludes with a critical perspective on the contemporary approach of the international clubs and Federations to grassroots soccer, in contrast with the ambivalent roles played by non-governmental organisations and lastly, with that of truly community based groups.

The chapter then documents soccer spaces in KwaThema. It begins with an overview of the soccer sites and their establishment and use. It goes on to document three specific areas of soccer activities that contrast institutional and local approaches to the game, and a crisis generated by an attempt to institutionalise Ntokozweni, a local field.

The balance of the chapter traces the evolution of my project, that constructs an alternative typology to mediate between the space and community of soccer in KwaThema. It begins with a timeline to introduce how the process lies at an intersection between spatial research and social interventions. It then describes the development of the project through four iterations that end with the High School field game in 2014.

2. documenting soccer

2.1 the view from the air

One afternoon, leaving Johannesburg on a flight from O.R. Tambo Airport, I looked down on the township of Thembisa (built 1957-). The soccer fields were just discernible from the air, not as formally confined spaces but through the different colour of patches of trodden earth. The number of fields was staggering; an entire layer of latently meaningful urban spaces within a context that, by virtue of apartheid's modernist thinking, was planned as "open space". I referred back to this image in early 2008 in an exhibition on the projects proposed for the event (le Roux and Matsipa, 2008). Against the images of the already-generic stadia then under construction, I proposed mapping real soccer spaces, as found within most of South Africa. The research and resultant graphic, the Field of Fields, confirmed the extensiveness of this layer of space.

The formation of this field of soccer space is parallel with the development and differentiation of black urbanism. South Africa was always (with the exception of the fertile, watered Western Cape) sparsely settled. The 1913 Natives Land Act further cleared this territory of settlement, relegating native South Africans to labour reserves or city slums, while opening up vast tracts of land for white farmers, conservation, or simply passive ownership (SAHO, 2000). Apartheid policies after 1948 extended control over the land through the fine-grained application of segregation. Modernist forms of planning in this period introduced sparse and scattered suburban and township²⁶ urbanism patterns, characterised by open zones that served to separate communities along ethnic lines. The absolute and perpetual ownership of land under Roman Dutch law has made such patterns fixed, hard to change.

Without the means to fully manage such spaces in all but the wealthiest suburbs, or high enough rainfall to render them productive for crops, the designated open spaces in and around settlements have largely returned to their natural state of grass or scrubland. Within townships, where land values are low, formal urban management is minimal, and where home ownership is a relatively recent right²⁷, open spaces are up for grabs to be used as fit. They are crisscrossed with paths made by pedestrians and, often, mobile herds of goats and cattle. Soccer pitches are a layer on this landscape.

An extensive survey of soccer pitches across the South African landscape in 2008 revealed their extent, and the coincidence between open space and open soccer pitches. Through a broad scan of Google Earth images, and then

²⁶ In South Africa, where racial segregation is now illegal, but still a *de facto* condition, the terminology *suburb* and *township* still relate to race. The term *suburb* usually refers to the residential areas of the richer, formerly and still largely white central cities and towns, while *township* refers to the areas allocated to poorer black residents.

²⁷ Ownership of urban property was only reinstated as a right to Black South Africans in the 1980's (ref)

of more detailed aerial tiles from four South African metropolitan areas and some rural ones, the work collated a set of aerial images of over 200 soccer pitches that conform to the simple form defined in the 1920's, a flat pitch of around 100x60 meters with two sets of goal markers. The differences between these soccer spaces marked the variety of spatial and social conditions that make up South African cities; their distribution, a blunt diagram of South Africa's urban and social capital. Poorer communities had more, yet much less developed pitches. Richer ones had formal, grassed grounds.

Soccer is the medium with which township open space is converted to a temporal community asset; or at least, by which space which is officially deemed Park, Open Space, State Property or Development Site is transformed from an abstract to a lived space. Newly settled communities persuade the drivers of construction vehicles working on the roads to scrape them out in open spaces, so where there is new housing there are spaces to play soccer. These informal pitches refer to the modernist model as defined by formal institutions such as FIFA (2007) in the most ephemeral ways: at most, painted lines on the ground, and sometimes simply four temporary markers as goals. The fields are simultaneously robust (defended through use) and fragile (physically open). When not in use for league games, pedestrians, children and even animals take over the space. In contrast, the soccer fields laid out by government, both during apartheid and in the present, have a very different spatial quality, by virtue of their surface (usually grass), fenced boundaries, and mono-functional permanent use.

In an exploration of these places of grassroots soccer, I worked over a set of aerial images drawn from the Field of Fields project. At a scale of around 1:1000, it is possible to see the informal pitches in a context of houses, routes, roads, taxi ranks, tiny spaza shops and landscape elements. By tracing and extending these marks into nascent urban forms, these explorations show that new forms of public spaces can be located in relation to both soccer and the urban lives around them. The most visible element in this exercise is in the white marks made over the earth fields, which are rich in oxides and have a terracotta colour.

MONTAGED AERIAL IMAGES

1

2

3

4

a



b



c



MONTAGED AERIAL IMAGES

1

2

3

4

a



b



c



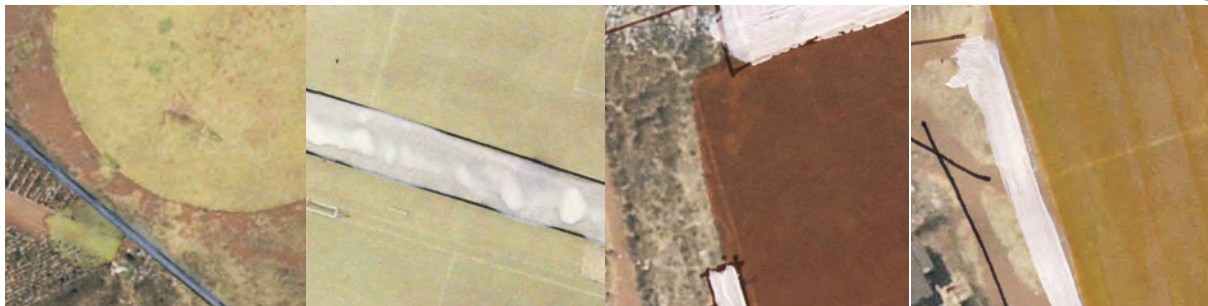
1

2

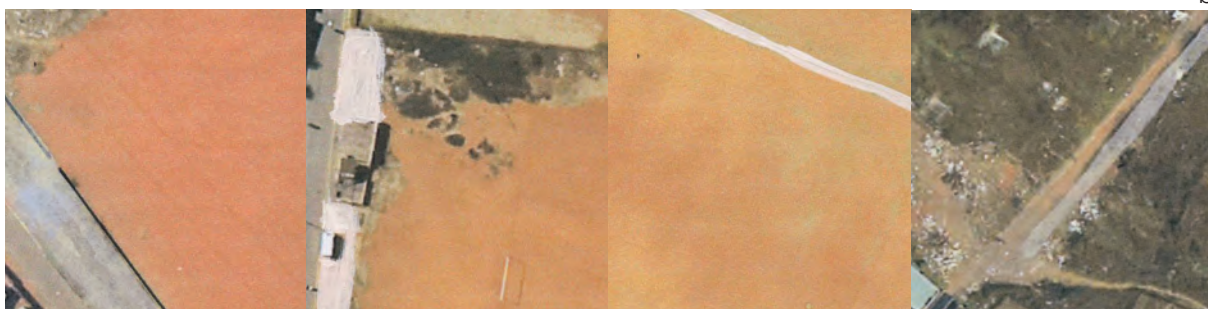
3

4

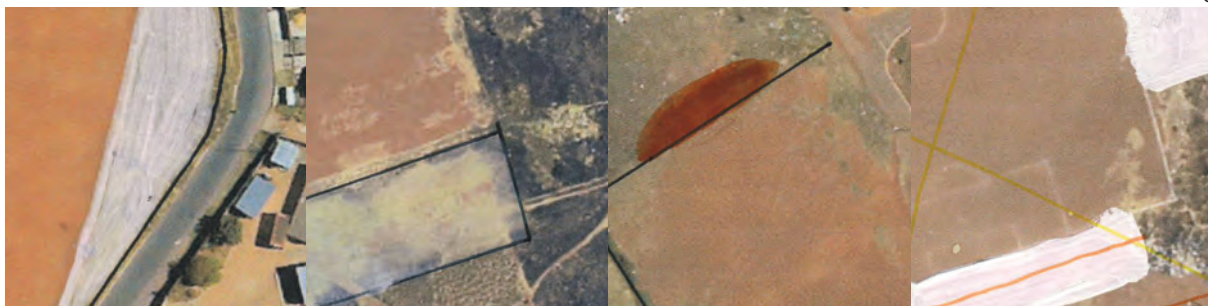
a



b



c



MIGHTY VISION SOCCER CLUB, BETHANIE (CURIOUS PICTURES, 2010)

1

2

a



b



c



1

2

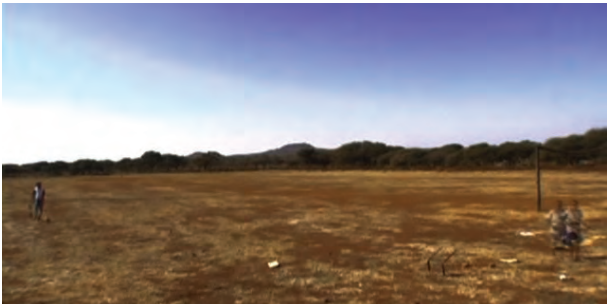
a



b



c



2.2 the view from the ground

The static images of fields are animated in the temporal documentation of soccer space in a film of the Mighty Vision Soccer Club shot by Curious Pictures (le Roux and Matsipa 2008). This film captures a game at the Mighty Vision Soccer Club near the small township of Bethanie, near Brits in the Northern Province, using edited footage that compresses into a few minutes the course of an hour-long game. The action takes place on open earth, between two goalposts made of sagging gum poles and the noisy crowd of some thirty spectators, mainly girls and younger boys. Their shadows are the only mark on the earth. After the game everyone moves off.

2.3 soccer histories

Such self-organisation around soccer predates any South African governmental interventions. The game was brought to the country as part of the British Imperial project, both informally through contact with soldiers and sailors in the 19th Century and later, through visits by British teams (SAHO, 2000). The first soccer association was established in 1892, with memberships reserved for whites. A black team toured the United Kingdom in 1899 to an initial reception of curiosity and later, ridicule (Bolsmann, 2011). The exotic element introduced to soccer through such exhibitions of non-Western players for showmanship remains a feature of the global game, as does the economic exploitation of young men from poor communities (Weaver, 2009, Goldblatt, 2008).

The social and emancipatory benefits of soccer for blacks, on the other hand, were what motivated American missionaries to establish soccer teams at their institutions in Zululand around the beginning of the 20th Century. The Zulu chief and educator, Alfred Luthuli, who was to go on to become President of the Africa National Congress, entered politics in part through his management of the Adams Mission team, the Shooting Stars (SAHO, 2000). Within this role he negotiated rights for self-management and spatial security for soccer. In Durban in the 1930's, he fought with the City Council to have them fund a "Native Recreation Ground" which was completed around 1936 and added revenue to the game, funds which were in turn defended by Luthuli as a rightful reward for the teams (Alegi, 2010).

As Alegi (2004, 2000, 2010) relates, Luthuli's actions were paralleled by others, perhaps more for personal gain. The creation and management of teams and leagues was an activity that grew in scale alongside black urbanisation and was a medium through which individuals gained social and material success that was denied to them in formal, white-controlled organisations. At the same time, the mines, as a major employer of young men, understood the role that the game could play in strengthening their labour force by building loyalty and constructively using leisure time (SAHO, 2000).

The space of soccer, however, remained largely unsupported by the state during apartheid. Access to grounds happened through the borrowed use of fields belonging to schools and colleges, mines, or through industry donations to the township administration boards. Soccer, like most aspects of South African public life, notably transformed in the post-apartheid period with the shift of private and state patronage to its professional bodies, notably the South African Football Association (SAFA) which was founded in 1991²⁸. The selection of South Africa to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup brought additional resources to the game and funded the construction of six new stadia and the renovation of many others. It also dramatically raised the value of sponsorships and players, adding a layer of competition to the task of soccer development. This spatial and institutional infrastructure for the World Cup meant that players and their spaces are now potentially linked into the global economy of the game.

2.4 the transformation of soccer

My own interest in soccer is circumstantial as I don't play the game, or watch professional games. But from around 2005 I was a soccer mom, driving my son to weekly fixtures and practices around Johannesburg. That experience of everyday games as a ubiquitous social phenomenon, and one that generated temporary clusters of soccer parents and players across racial lines, overcoming apartheid's social patterns on the sidelines as much as in teams, led me to value this ephemeral urban realm. Following that initiation, I was swayed by the groundswell of enthusiasm that arose from 2006 when South Africa won the bid for the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and hopeful about the Cup's transformative potential for the game and its spaces.

The World Cup's recognition of soccer as South Africa's most popular sport and the presence of public attention drew the public to play soccer in friendly matches, and also spurred the growth of non-governmental organisations (NGO's) around the game. The event boosted grassroots organisations such as The Dreamfields Project, Play Soccer, Grassroots Soccer and FIFA's own organisation, Football for Hope, which were in turn instrumental in linking soccer to developmental agendas (The Dreamfields Project, 2013, streetfootballworld, 2013, playsoccer, 2013, Fédération Internationale de Football, 2010). Some of these programmes linked access to soccer facilities and training with AIDs education, life skills, literacy and self-esteem courses.

Although much of their activity is organisational and takes place in existing infrastructures, soccer NGO's have also implemented some built projects. The departure from the stadium as the space for soccer, to a model including

²⁸ SAFA channels about €20 million per year into soccer since 2010, income derived through sponsorships, broadcasting rights and ticket sales. In addition SAFA was the recipient of a US \$100 million donation from FIFA for the 2010 World Cup, of which \$55 million has been placed in a trust. CITY PRESS. 2013. *Government makes Saka hearts 'bleed'* [Online]. Available: <http://www.citypress.co.za/sport/government-makes-saka-hearts-bleed/>.

social facilities suggests that diverse strategies for the construction of soccer-related facilities could succeed in extending the space of soccer from the field alone to an interface with its communities.

Soccer NGO's tend to work to mediate the complex relationships between informal and formal soccer. The highly organised, sponsored, commercialized and televised game also needs drama, and as it did in the 1899 tour, this often comes straight from the street game, embodied in the thousands of Latin American and African youth who are drawn to the material rewards of European league football (Foer, 2005, Goldblatt, 2008). In the Bethanie game, the audience comes and goes, held only by the thrill of the game. The street game of soccer, *fussbol*, has a similar vitality, reflecting the sort of pleasure in spontaneous play, uninterrupted by rules or commercial breaks. Informal soccer has a visual and emotional content that is attractive to global audiences, and the location of FIFA facilities in-situ serves to identify such talent²⁹.

The notion of a space adjacent to soccer that consolidates its audiences, even allowing for their eventual self organisation into social amenities, but external to the networks of soccer recruitment was formative in the PITCH project. Such a temporal structure is informed by the ephemerality of the Bethanie crowd. It was grounded in the spaces mapped out across South Africa.

2.5 Legacy Fields

Locating an intervention around township soccer within government projects seemed viable in the run up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This turned out not to be the case³⁰. While South Africa's World Cup planning was presented in the 2004 Bid Book (South African Football Association, 2004) as a popular project and largely in terms of event management, the implementation transformed it into a massive exercise in the construction of large scale, engineered physical infrastructure. The Bid Book's many images of children playing on dusty fields alongside informal settlements gave way to a representation centered on construction and then the official events. The ten match venues were all located in formerly white urban areas or open land outside of cities.

²⁹ The FIFA Football for Hope facilities feature an identical artificial turf surface at their heart, and bold billboards that identify the location. Powered by off-grid solar technology donated by the sponsor Yingli Solar, these settings facilitate the filming of talented youth for consideration for local and international development squads. At the same time, the social facilities built alongside the pitch are adapted to local building technologies. FÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DE FOOTBALL, A. 2010. *20 Centres for 2010* [Online]. Geneva: FIFA. Available: <http://www.fifa.com/aboutfifa/socialresponsibility/footballforhope/20centres/index.html> [2011].

³⁰ I met in 2009 with the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Council to view and discuss their project to "roll out" 64 generic Legacy Fields for the South African Football Association across the region, and so benefit townships communities through job creation and field upgrading. At my first viewing of their standard design, which included concrete fencing with a single gateway placed at the opposite side of the field to local housing, I raised concerns with their engineer and contractor oriented approach. However it became clear after two further meetings that it was going to be very difficult, if not impossible, to alter this approach to upgrading fields from within the institution of the Council.

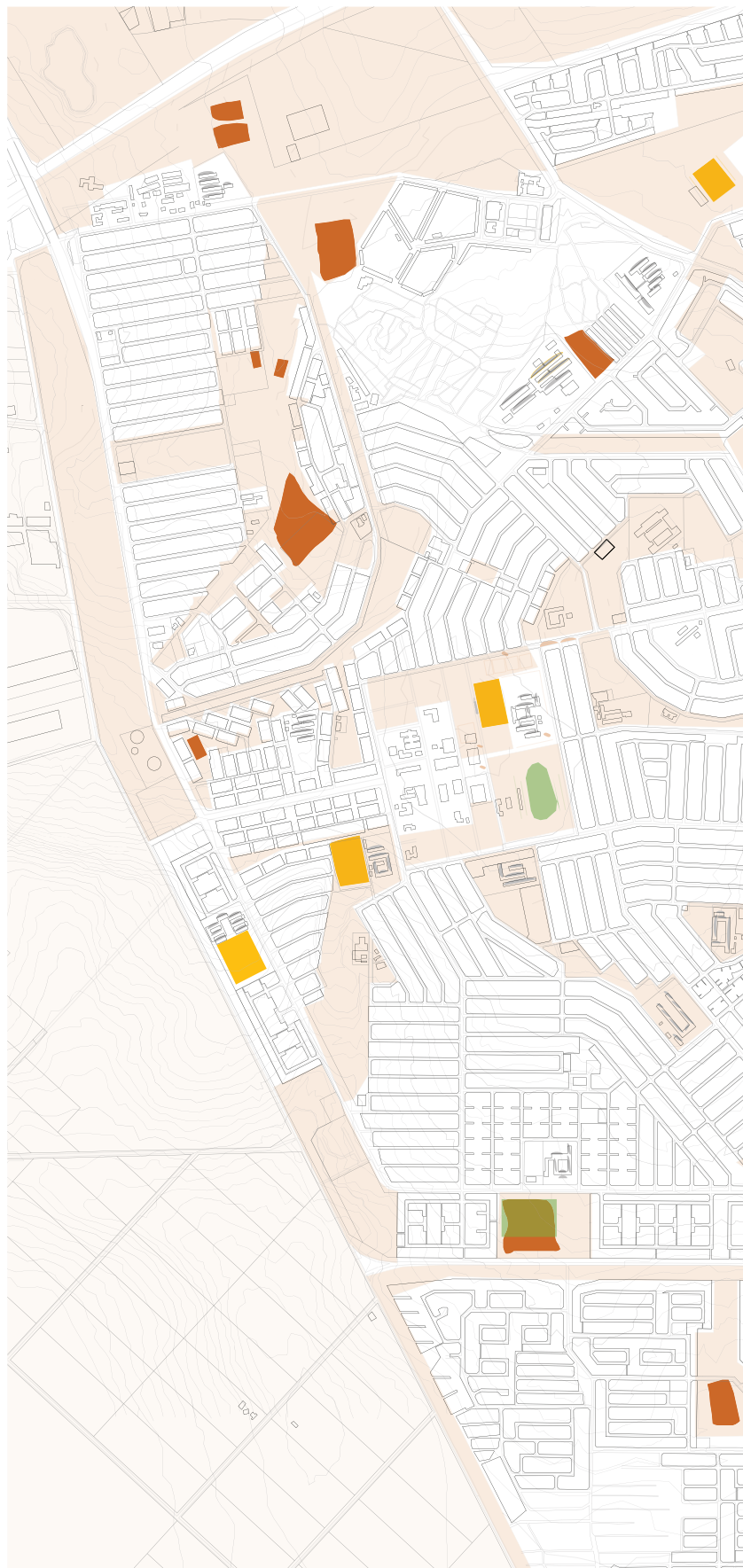
Some thought was given to projects in areas of poverty, but the realisation of these fields encountered many obstacles. The “legacy projects” planned as an ameliorative strategy for township soccer were delayed, apparently by contestations over access to these funds that were eventually resolved by the creation of a trust to administer the €50 million fund from the World Cup profits (Kortjaas, 2011). In Alexandra, a Football for Hope centre was promised as the site for the Street Football event that ran during the World Cup, but nothing had been constructed by June 2010 and the event was housed in temporary structures.

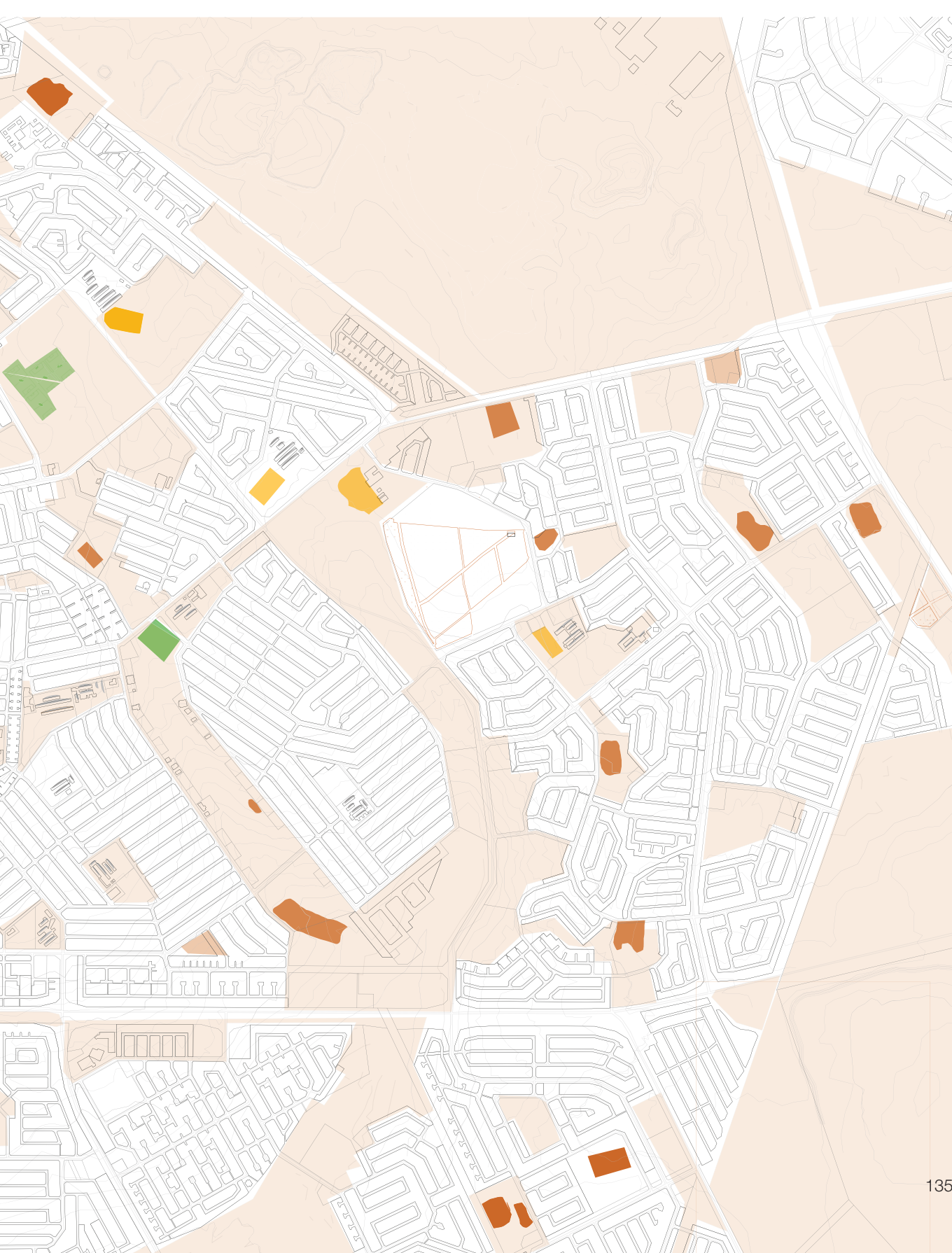
The limited impact of the 2010 World Cup stadia as a positive legacy has been subjected to scrutiny elsewhere (Mbembe, 2010, Pillay et al., 2009, MISTRA, 2012). The Legacy Fields, however, may still be open to designerly thinking through the call for applications to the FIFA Legacy Trust. To date, though, Legacy Fields are controversial.

Those township legacy fields that were built in the immediate post-2010 period were mostly standardised, “top-down” and even destructive interventions. In Ekurhuleni, east of Johannesburg, twenty-four out of a promised sixty-four “Legacy Fields” that were built were existing community pitches that were irrigated, planted with grass, surrounded with concrete palisade fences and locked. Since then most of these fields, which were previously locally managed for township leagues, have been vandalized (Sijadu, 2010, Looklocal, 2012). Moreover, according to Sijadu, SAFA has decided to certify only games played on grass, leaving many townships without a certifiable field and so compelling spending the funds available for grassroots soccer on contracts for the international artificial turf industry. This initiative was kickstarted by a donation from the National Lotteries Board for fifty two artificial turf pitches, despite questions raised in parliament about their appropriateness in terms of cost, vandalism and local job creation (Parliament of South Africa, 2010).

KWATHEMA SOCCER FIELDS AND OPEN SPACE NETWORK

- FORMAL GRASS FIELDS
- SCHOOL FIELDS
- INFORMAL FIELDS





3. soccer in KwaThema

3.1 soccer sites

In the difficult context of proposing my work as an official post-2010 Legacy project, I decided to rather work directly with local soccer communities in found, public space. The projects would include temporary structures. After considering some sites, I chose to locate my project in KwaThema. I was familiar with the township site from the 2007 KwaThema Project and housing studies, and my connections with its history and community served as an entry point. The initial project led to three more projects, each building on the experience of the earlier prototypes. In the process I visited many sites in KwaThema and tried to understand the nature of the space and communities around soccer. I moved from a regional to local scale of observation of generic forms around soccer. The design process considered these existing genres of game, and working with players and their managers built my experience of choreographing such events. The design narrative and reflection explains the process which I then developed through a design strategy that probed soccer in the three tournaments.

Soccer takes place in different kinds of places in KwaThema, from the stadium to the street. Because the growth and professionalisation of township soccer leagues from the 1950's onwards coincided with the development of modernist townships, soccer pitches do appear on the plans of KwaThema. But along with other civic amenities, few were built. KwaThema was constructed to a low-density model influenced by Lewis Mumford's neighbourhood planning, with layouts that echoed British New Towns and American suburban tracts. Its layout consisted of rows of houses separated with buffer strips, often broad belts of undeveloped space in low lying areas. The open spaces may have appeared as parks in their planning representations but in realisation remained underdeveloped and merely open space. The *terrain vague* of township open spaces is an ambivalent legacy. While the space is an opportunity for communities to develop soccer fields, the definition of these fields is lost in the extensiveness of open space and in the overlapping uses that have laid claim to the same space. Soccer is just one of a series of temporal claims.

KwaThema has a formal stadium that appears on the original master plan of Calderwood (1953), a few formal fields built by the Education and township administration authorities, a post-apartheid sports complex, school fields and the open fields built by the community. I documented KwaThema's fields three times over four years, relying on three different informants. In addition to this, I often stopped to look at fields in use, and photographed many of them with and without players. Yet it was impossible to definitively map all of them and their communities. Some fields were changed over this period: for example, the Gedult field used to be a car wash site, but the markers were stolen and after a while someone erected posts on the field and it became a pitch for younger kids. Then the posts were stolen for their scrap metal. I have documented how in a more extreme way, Ntokozweni field was altered and effectively lost to the community.

These fields were documented on visits with Tsepile Ramatao, a community activist whose partner and son play soccer. Specifically, Number 2 Field, Nthokozweni, High School, Riverside and Hostel fields were photographed. However, Tsepile was unaware of smaller, more remote fields. My building crew, along with a student assistant, Christos Van Wyk, refined this documentation in early 2011 by walking around in KwaThema. This data forms the basis for the 2011 map. Lastly, I asked the convenor of the 2011 Eudy Park game, Baliswe Mahlangu, to assist me to update this information in early 2013. She visited a dozen fields, drew them and spoke to players, and so added further information about the use of the fields by various groups.

The initial impression of soccer's ubiquitousness in KwaThema conceals the diverse communities of soccer players and the dynamics of their organisations and relationships with space. There are at least three kinds of games: social, league and affiliated leagues. The affiliated leagues are potentially mobile, with the teams playing beyond the township and players aspiring and being transferred at a price to clubs in ranks higher up in the league. The earning and sponsorship potential of young players and teams has resulted in the establishment of at least one entrepreneurial soccer venture, the Ayoba-Yo Soccer Academy.

The social games are the most fluid. They include "keep fit" games which older people participate in and include women's teams such as The Homesweepers. The social leagues are played on weekends and overlap with non-league social games. School soccer has been played since the building of KwaThema, and the school fields are often used by outside groups. Inter-school matches do not take place but recent shifts in education policy, and the involvement of the Dreamfields NGO are pushing towards the re-establishment of school leagues in Ekurhuleni in the future. All these levels of soccer participate in tournaments.

My engagement with soccer communities relied on referrals from Tsepile Ramatao. In contrast to local government's focus on upgrading the physical infrastructure of soccer, these three local soccer groups all aspired towards staging a tournament. Their financial resources, like mine, were minimal, and our discussions were about the ways in which we could make such tournaments happen and what this might mean for their own organisations. The resultant map and photo essay of KwaThema soccer space covers information from all the documentation and locates the project sites. The key explains the various genres of fields, and the annotation, explains the kinds of games that take place on them.



KWATHEMA PITCHES



3.2 SAFA games

Formal soccer games are those that are recognised by the South African Football Association's (SAFA) leagues.

There are multiple tiers, from the Premier Division to Junior leagues. The senior league players are professionals who receive salaries and the junior leagues serve to formally register and develop new players. SAFA affiliated clubs in the Junior leagues play at the Sports Complex in KwaThema.

3.3 open fields

At the opposite end of the institutional scale to SAFA games is the self-organised soccer that happens on open spaces close to residential areas. The Ayoba Yo coach Innocent Mayoyo and I agreed on the term *open fields* to describe these grounds that spring up alongside new housing developments. Claiming that the fields are not planned by government, he suggested that the fields appear when new communities ask the drivers of road scrapers to clear a field in exchange for a small payment. The open fields are largely earth, with posts constructed from plumbing pipes or timber, or simply rock goal markers. Their access for weekend matches is organised within the community according to consensus between teams, and during the week they are used as practice fields by boys. The fields are integrated into the surrounding housing fabric by virtue of their use as short cuts through the area, and are protected by their users against invasion for housing.

3.4 Nthokozweni

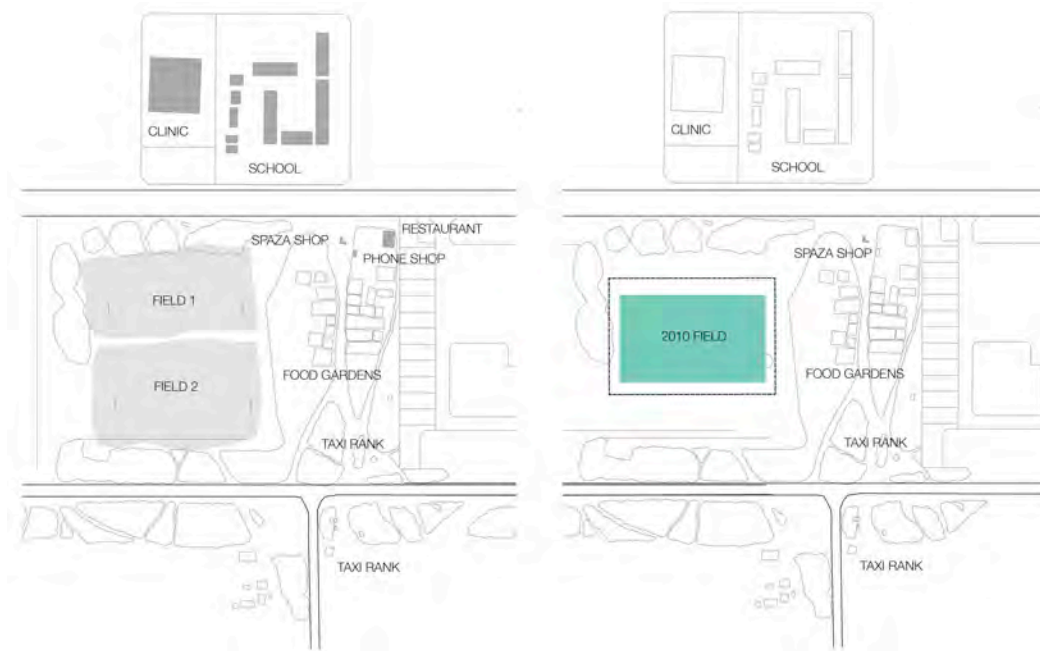
If the hallmark of an institutionally owned field is its fencing and outside management, then that of a community owned one is its openness, its lack of fencing and its local control. In KwaThema, the Nthokozweni field is an example of a field that has passed from community to SAFA control (Sijadu, 2010), a change that coincided with the field's physical transformation through stages of renovation and subsequent neglect within less than a year. This field and its changes illustrate the interrelationship between the physicality of soccer spaces and their social embeddedness.

The Nthokozweni field has a long history as community soccer space. A pair of earth fields within the width of the buffer zone to the south of KwaThema, it was a popular field for local leagues for as long as my middle-aged informants could remember. The soccer space linked with a number of adjacent activities: gardening, spaza shops, restaurant, school, informal housing and taxi ranks. In early 2010 it was selected as a project site under Ekurhuleni Metro's Legacy Field programme and the central area of the buffer zone was fenced with concrete palisading. Grass was laid over this area and marked out as a single field, so erasing two earth fields to create a single one. The new field, some distance from the roads, and almost concealed behind the concrete fence, was removed from sight from

the street. The sole public facility was a single metal bench in the middle of the fenced area. Contractors put an irrigation tank and system in place to water the field.

The field rapidly fell out of use. Without easy access to the neighbouring houses, including one which had been a popular restaurant during the open field games, there were no ablutions for the players and spectators. The adjacent school could no longer use the field as they wished. Erratic maintenance was carried out, with the task of mowing grass subcontracted to two poorly paid labourers who failed to keep up with the summer growth. Some of the concrete fence posts were broken, possibly by local children who practice goal scoring on the field, or to re-establish several short cuts across the field. The water tank outlet was broken to access its contents, possibly by the adjacent informal community who live without access to piped water. Along with other Legacy Fields, access to the field was first passed to SAFA, but then removed from their control by the Department of Sports, Recreation, Arts and Culture of the Metro. Despite this change in arrangements, the field remained unused at the beginning of 2011.

The failure of the Nthokozweni field is a consequence of the disconnect between the infrastructure delivery and management chosen by the State, and local realities. While crude, the Legacy Project model of grassy fields that are watered and protected was not undesirable in itself. What is misunderstood in its design and implementation is the compensatory role that township residents and spatial practices play in sustaining local institutions through loose but strategic connections to them. By removing the field from these local scales and forms of control, the Legacy Project took the life out of it and reinstated its site as wasteland.



left:
Nthokozweni
field before
and after
intervention,
2010-11

NTHOKZWENI: EXISTING INFORMAL ACTIVITIES AND COUNCIL UPGRADE, 2011

1



2



3



4



a



b



c

3.5 open fields/open questions

The common ground between the open fields and formalised ones is the pitch itself, in terms of its rough dimensions and goal markers. It is only in the simple distinction made by fencing, and reinforced by the provision of new and serviced turf surfaces, that open and official fields are distinguished from each other. The vulnerability of open fields lies in the apparently benign nature of acts of improvement that accompany their removal from an open network of spaces and reassign them to the control of closed institutions.

The location of open fields within open space marks them as liminal zones. Liminal spaces are common during processes of political change; without attentive outside management, such spaces present opportunities for political claims and their acting out in an embodied way. In the process new social forms take shape. The everyday nature of some of the townships' new uses makes them less apparently political. In KwaThema, the grazing of cattle, planting of mielies (maize), meeting of churchgoers, car wash precincts, outdoor shebeens, bashes, wedding and funeral parties, and games of soccer are the main forms of spatial appropriation in open land. Such ambivalence is both the richness and vulnerability of what Vorster (2010) calls the "real football fields of South Africa". They raise the question of how to intervene as a form of recognition, without limiting the broad value of public space to their communities.



left: logo for proposed open fields tournament, 2010. White lines onto image sourced from Google Earth.





4. catalysing games

4.1 proposition

The social potential of the activities that take place within open space could be discussed within an anthropological reading of township social networks and change. But my interest here is not so much what they do for their social context but the fact that they do *take place*, that there are spaces at hand to open up to such uses. The capacity of open space and the vulnerability of its new uses to control, erasure or privatisation become the issues that design needs to engage with. While it begins with the recognition of open institutions within open space, it also suggests a shifting model for design practice itself.

Lacking the resources to create permanence, emerging institutions are created in part from existing and appropriated space, in part from temporal infrastructures and in part from ephemeral but intense material cultures. They rely on the intensity and memory of lived experiences, rather than the symbolism and materiality of buildings to create a sense of permanence. While township residents understand and reproduce the structures that have developed around everyday rituals, there is a dearth of representation of their forms in the proper languages of design and planning. The Ntokozweni field story shows how the imposition of new physical spaces often erases such forms and institutions through ignorance of sites that may well be invisible to their engineers.

The PITCH project designed probes to address this situation, to suggest that through a formal intervention the open institution of community soccer can be sustained. The design created a contrast with the absolute ownership and perpetual maintenance of space that is suggested by the Legacy Field intervention. It proposed replacing the dysfunctional rotation of institutional support between SAFA and the metros with local management through the use of ephemeral structures. In the process, it explored what capacities the open games and fields show that the formalised fields did not. The strategy of engagement with space and communities addressed these questions in a suggestive, rather than analytical way, using each iteration to enrich the exploration. Working at first at the scale of probes, rather than implementing a systematic, overall strategy for the informal fields across KwaThema, it tested the viability of temporal, micro-scaled interventions within three different contexts.

The generic intervention that PITCH proposes is in-between the normative model of a regulation soccer pitch and the socially constructed spatial practices in and around informal pitches. On the one hand, this intervention adds elements of precision to the fluid spaces of informal games, and expands the capacity for appropriation through physical and symbolic supports; on the other, it reacts against the fragmentation of community and professional life that come with other approaches to formalizing soccer. This generic intervention combines a social strategy involving a local technical team, a local organising group, neighbourhood teams and the community at large, with a physical

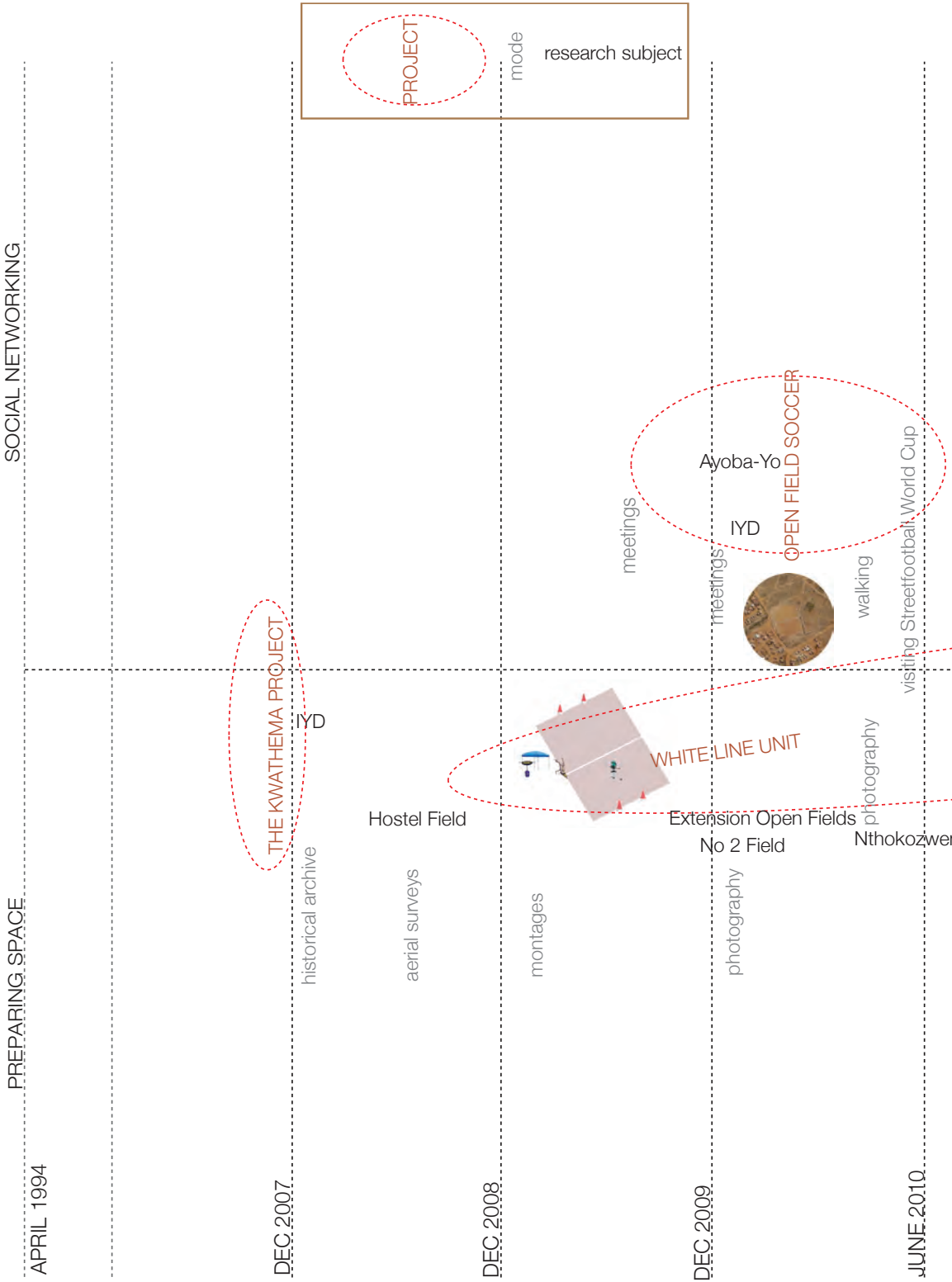
one that puts in the essential infrastructure for the game. It reacts to the specific qualities of each site and soccer community. At the same time, it relies on temporary and reusable elements that can be reconfigured at each site.

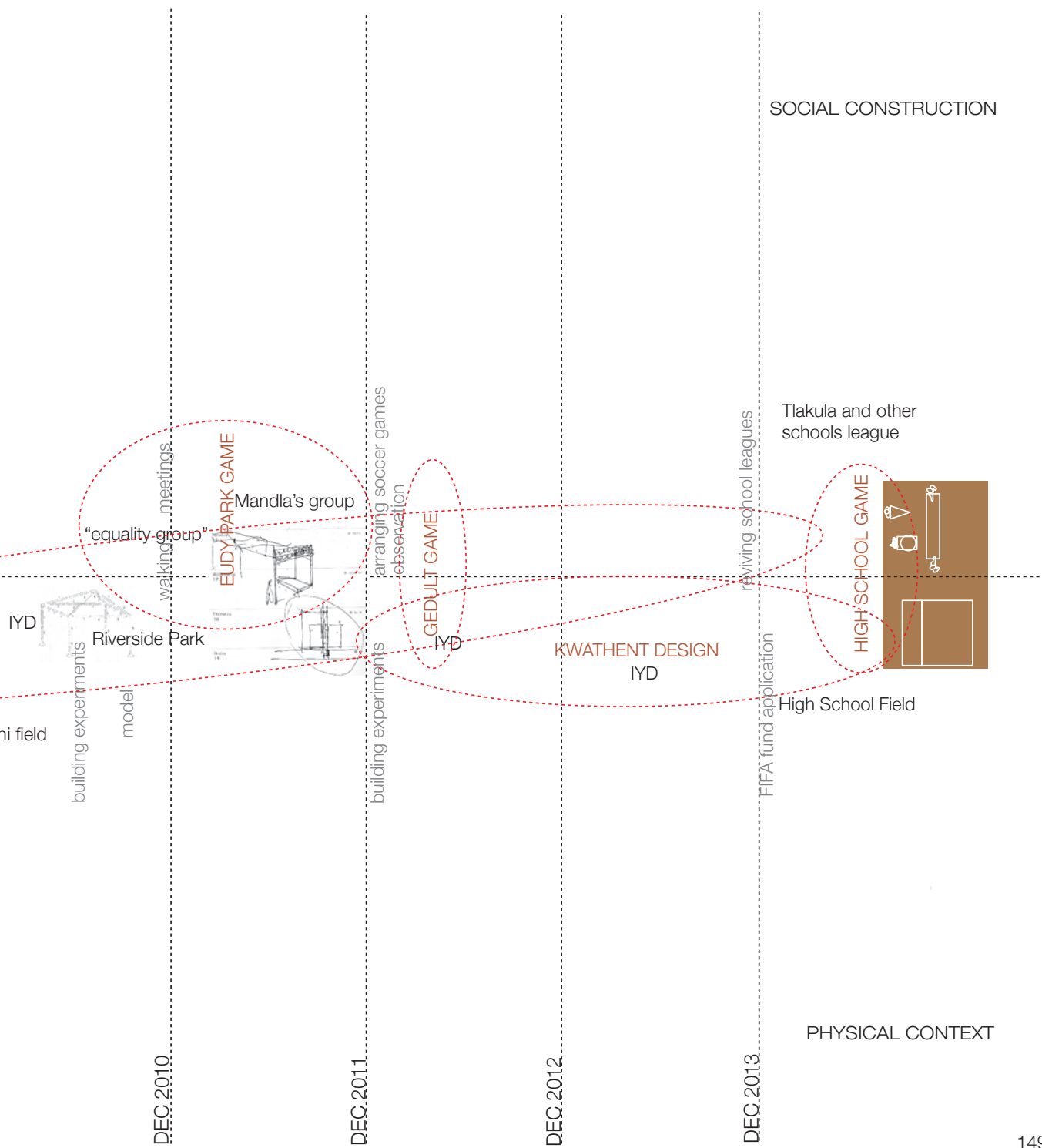
The spatial and programmatic potentialities that each game reveals are proposed as immanent forms and uses rather than the building blocks of (implicitly closed) institutions formed around soccer.

4.2 timelines

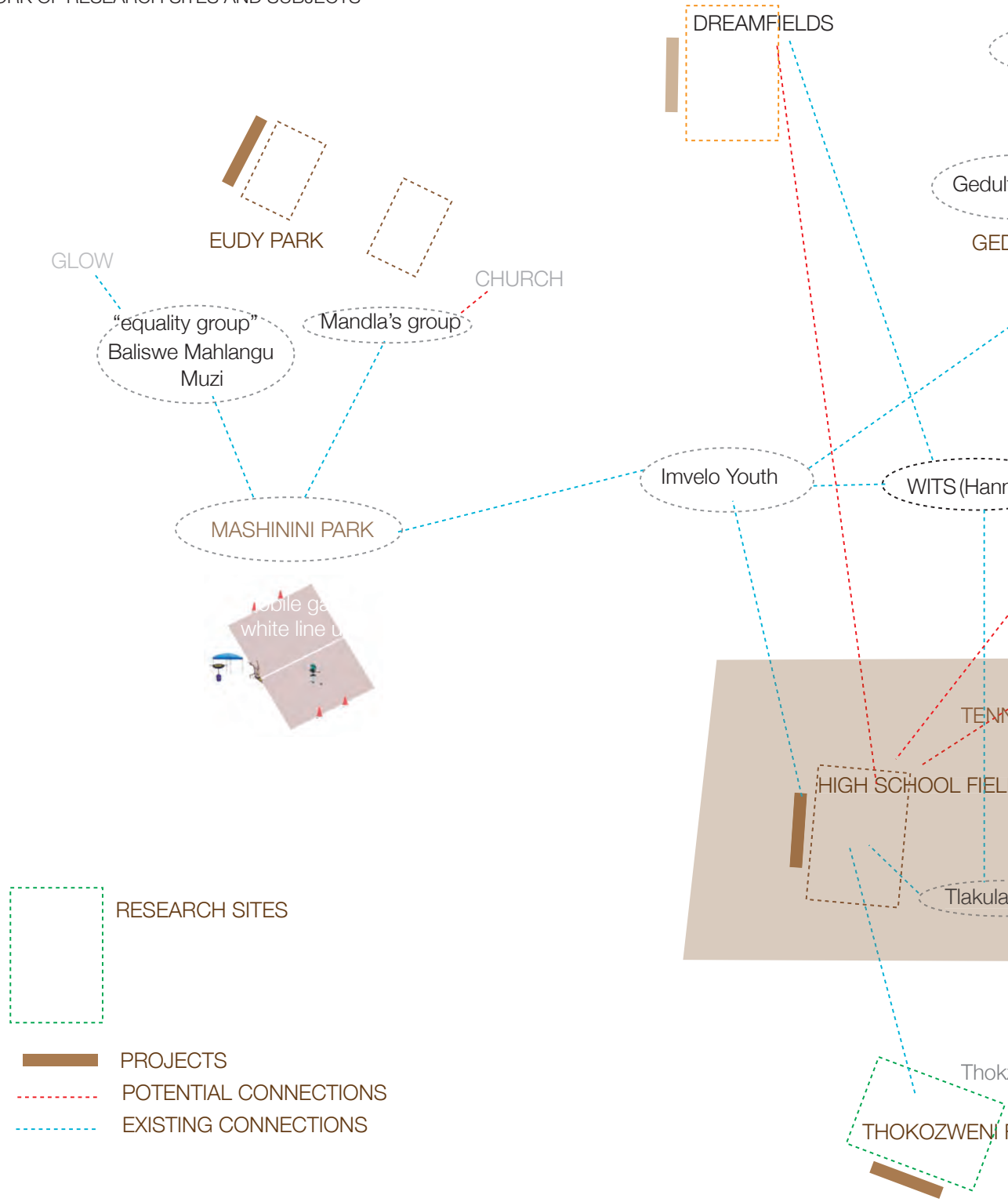
The design project is an amalgamation of researches, actions and inventions. It has a temporal life, involving initial probes and maps that form the basis for later work. In the timeline I have outlined the main steps, collaborators and projects that form the elements of the PITCH project as a whole.

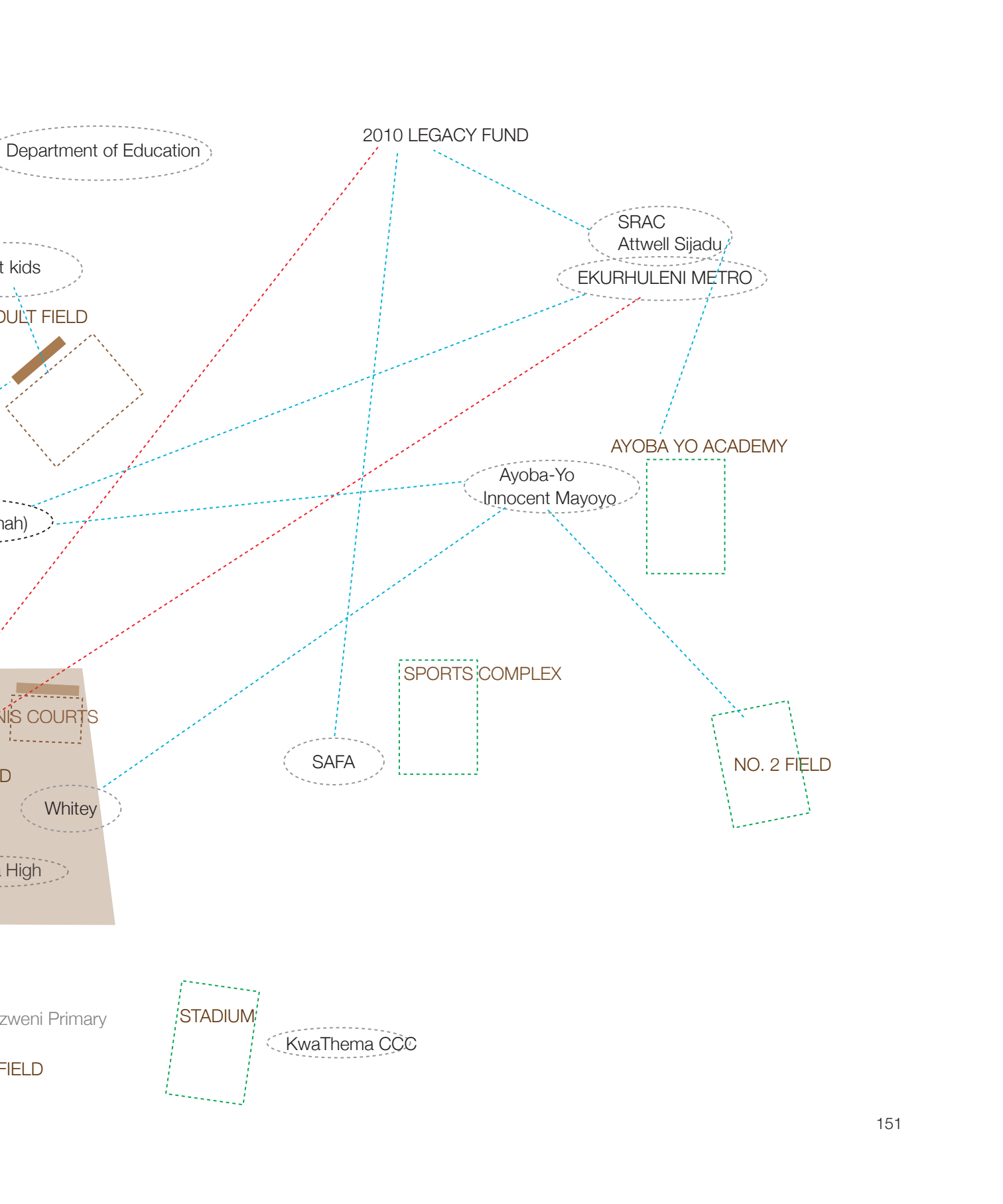
PITCH TIMELINE





NETWORK OF RESEARCH SITES AND SUBJECTS





4.3 White Line Unit

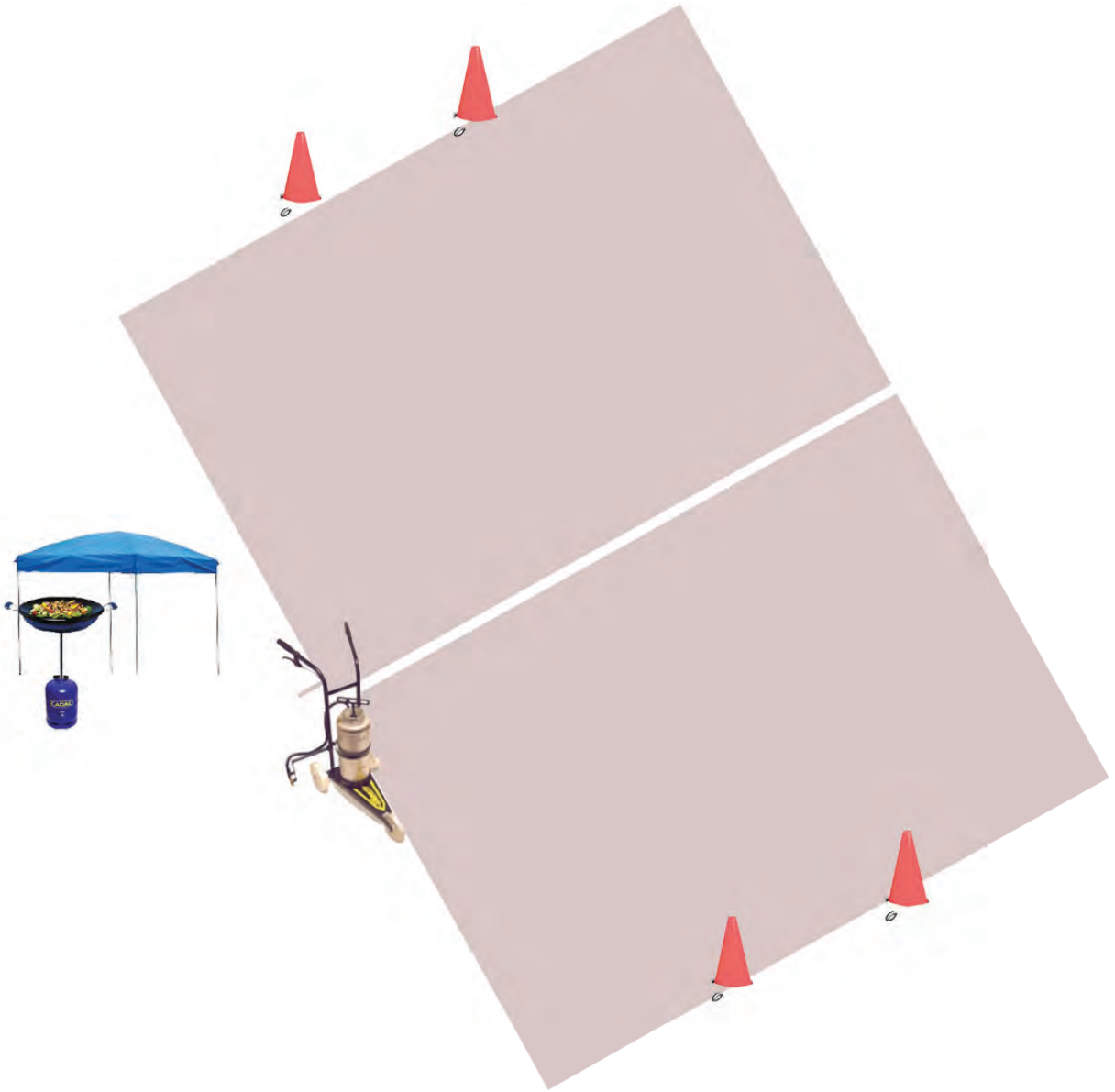
The first project that I proposed for generic fields was a technical team to support the practice of community-made soccer pitches. Because soccer space is tolerated in open space, the process of documenting these spaces revealed the nature of their scattering and siting. Changing these sites seemed unnecessary. The only preparation required was their cleaning and the mowing of the long grass, or leveling the earth, and delimiting the field. The first strategy I developed to design interventions in township soccer spaces meditates on a concrete, formal gesture: the painting of a white line on the earth as a way of designating the pitch. The delicacy and deliberateness of this gesture struck me in some of the aerial images from the survey. Moreover, the overlay of white pigment onto earth is a very stark and universal medium of representation, with the capacity to elude any one tradition of design by virtue of its fundamental materiality.

Whiteness is associated with modernist open space; and becomes a neutral tone for the project. But whitening is also associated with initiation rituals: in Southern Africa, covering the face with white clay is used to render initiates apart from their previous status as boys (Magubane and Kloppe, 2001). This relates to their liminal status, and takes place while they are housed in a temporary building that is burned down when they leave as men, with the white clay washed off. This suggestion of a relationship between initiation which is a sacred indigenous practice and the secular, western game of soccer is not intended to be disrespectful. Instead it suggests the power of the neutral substance of white clay through its association with ritual acts.

The urban theorist Yichtafel uses the term “whitening” to designate the act of recognising informal or so-called “gray” spaces (Yichtafel, 2009) that are often left in a form of conceptual limbo by authorities as a form of control, constraining their growth or status. In this use, whitening may not be literal but rather a metaphorical change in status to something clean and institutionally sanctioned. This concept is also embedded in the choice of white as the colour for the project.

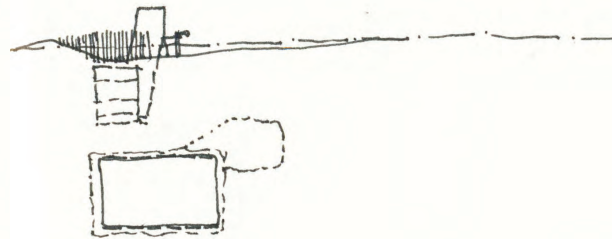
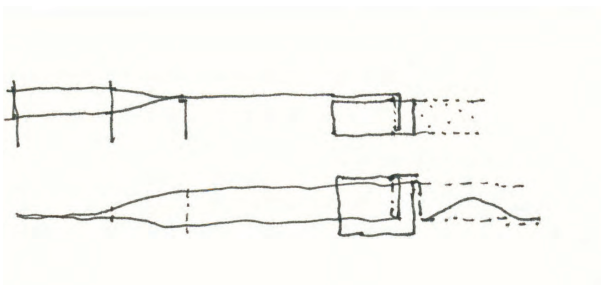
The PITCH project envisaged “whitening” informal fields through two actions. The first intervention was the establishment of a whitelineunit for KwaThema. In 2010 I engaged a group of volunteers who had formed through their participation in the earlier Beerhall Project, the Imvelo Youth Development brigade project, to run the unit. My vision was that this unit would be a small group who would be equipped with the skills and materials to establish a field anywhere, in the most minimal manner using white paint onto earth and four goal markers. The unit also had the basics for field based meetings, in the form of a shade structure and a gas braai. The second action was to clean and cut the grass on existing fields, as preparation for a tournament. Towards this we needed to identify an appropriate field or fields. An introduction by Tsepile to Innocent Mayoyo of Ayoba-Yo Academy led to the first proposal.

WHITE LINE UNIT

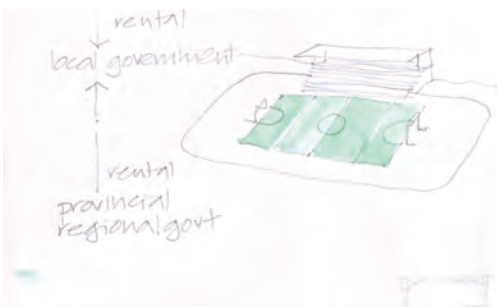




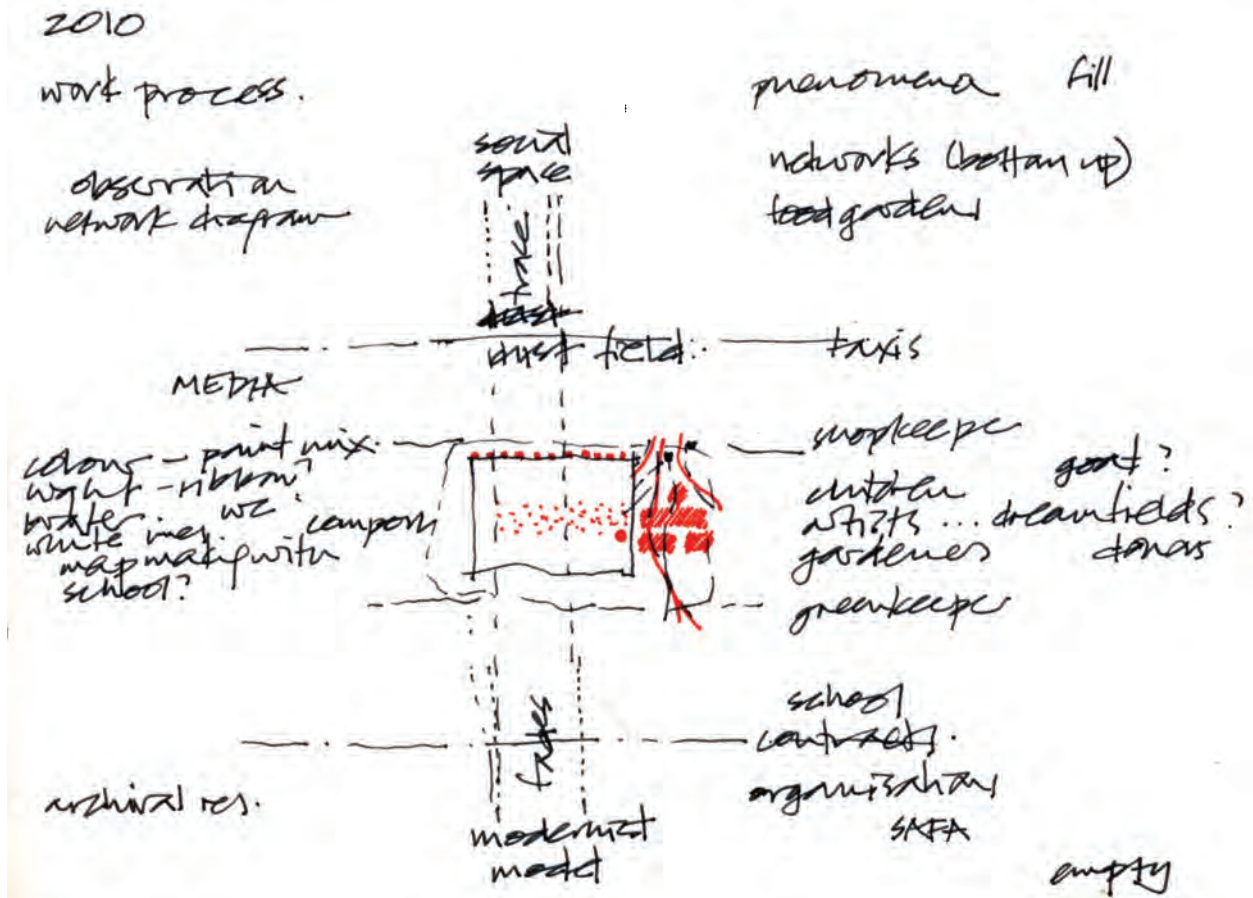
a



b



c



4.4 open fields tournament

The Ayoba-Yo Academy in KwaThema trains young players, up until the stage where they can be “sold” to league teams, while running their own team. The founder, Innocent Mayoyo, is a charismatic coach who was a professional player and coach for Ajax Cape Town. The concept that we developed was an open field tournament staged over a few weeks at more than one peripheral field. The infrastructure would be put up and removed over a day, bringing formal recognition to games in the most marginal areas of KwaThema, which are also the places with the most untapped young soccer talent. Through playing with Ayoba-Yo, it is possible for a talented player (and for many players, this is the dream) to rise through the levels of local, self-managed games, to a team formally entered in a local league and from there to professional status³¹.

The difficulty with this proposal lay in the costs involved with using Ayoba-Yo, which, as a formally constituted non-profit, had overheads that entailed a financial return on their time. Without a budget to manage the games, I postponed this tournament when it became clear that something run by professionals, over multiple sites would be too expensive to stage.

4.5 Eudy game

After hearing the difficulties in working with Ayoba-Yo, Tsepile introduced me to former members of the Equality forum, who had ran an annual commemorative tournament. The three GLBT activists, led by Baliswe Mahlangu, had participated in this project to bring together township and outside activists to commemorate Eudy Simelane's life and brutal rape and murder. Eudy had been a player for South Africa's national women's team, Banyana Banyana. She was also openly lesbian, and her death came to be seen as the consequence of violent prejudice against gay and lesbians in townships (Mail and Guardian, 2009). The site of her murder was the so-called Riverside Park, an open piece of land in the oldest neighbourhood of KwaThema. In an earlier cleanup and building project the activist group had cleared a small soccer field, built a playground and built a pedestrian bridge over the ditch where Eudy Simelane's body had been dumped. The intention of the activists was to make the cleanup and game into an annual event.

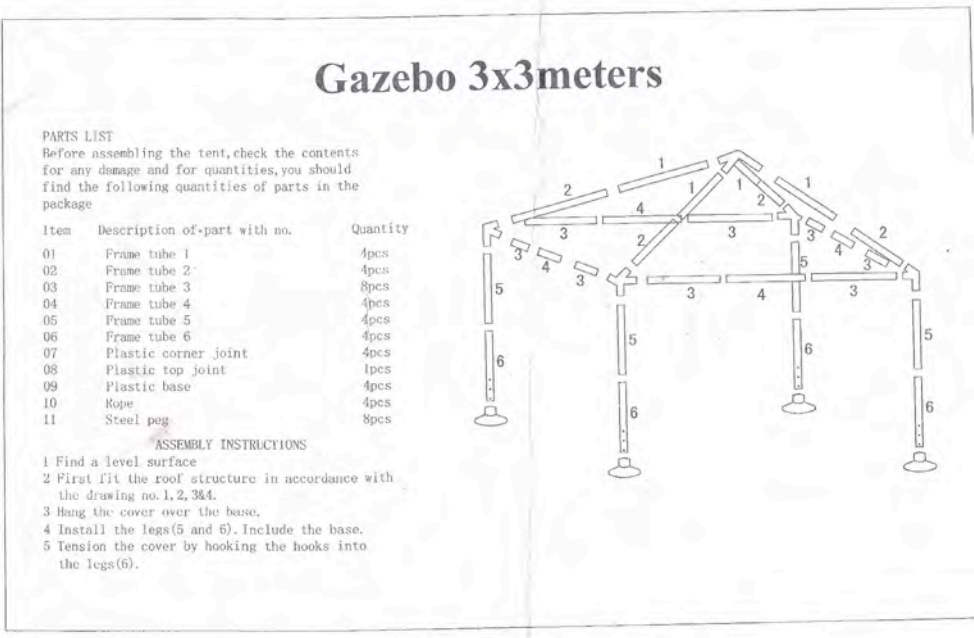
I brought together the whitelineunit of the Imvelo Youth and Baliswe to organise a tournament in early 2011. It began with a walk around the site, to look for a site for the tent structure that I proposed as support for the game. The programme for the event was developed on the walk and a later meeting on the Riverside Park site. Part of the site

³¹ Soccer leagues that are affiliated to SAFA are ranked from the local amateur ones that compete at a municipal level to the three professional leagues headed by the Premier Soccer League (PSL). Players can be sold between clubs from the age of 16, and many PSL teams have “development” teams that offer training and sometimes education to talented young players.

inspection and discussion concerned the potential of the concrete slabs of two demolished schools near to the site to support new activities on the site. This area became part of the project³².

We organised two cleanups of the Riverside park in January and again in March 2011. The actions of clearing reclaimed the public use value of the open spaces and allowed for a collective imagination of them. The clean-up was overwhelmingly effective in its effects. In the process of clearing, number of overlapping agendas for the open space were revealed: its use as the site for an annual match commemorating the murder of the Banyana Banyana captain Eudy Simelane; as a potential community garden; as a relaxation space established by an artist who had saved trees from being cleared and built a circle of seating; as grazing land for hostel dwellers' cattle and goats; as a worship site for a religious group; as a playground, and as a dumping ground for uncollected rubbish.

The physical infrastructure for the Riverside Park game consisted of four elements: two marked fields, a whitewashed wall, the gazebo of the whitelineunit and a tent on the cleared concrete slab. The tent that I was designing for the game was not ready in time. Instead, I hired a marquee from a local company. Observing this hired tent being put up and its details was a strong informant in the ongoing design of this projected tent. It led to research into three different ways of making tents: the everyday ones such as this marquee, some customised, technologically advanced designs, and the street vendor kiosks that are usually clad in shade cloth and plastic in the township.



left: Chinese made gazebo. Set up instruction sheet, author unknown, 2010.

³² Two members of the group, inspired by the discussions following the cleanup and the game, subsequently went on to register an application to the council to manage this part of the park.

GEDULT PARK

EXISTING OPEN FIELD

WETLAND

GARDENING
PROJECT

EUDY GAME

a



b



c



a: planning walk, Jan 30
b: wall, tent, field, March 23
c: tent and game, March 23



EUDY PARK ELEMENTS

1

2

3

4

a



b



c



a: found uses of the park

b1, 2, 3: planning walk

b4, c1, 2: preparation of space

c3, 4: tournament

4.6 Gedult park

The first prototype of the shade structure was refined by early 2012. This shade structure would replace the gazebo of the whitelineunit, while retaining most of its temporary nature. The sign and paving would remain after the match, allowing for the re-making of the infrastructure, as well as creating and retaining names for each of the fields in the network of the soccer community. The edge element's design combines the earlier montage-on-aerials exercise with a reflection on the nature of township-made shade structures.

Tents and shade structures in KwaThema are used to augment the horizontal use of open space for social events and entrepreneurial positioning. They are also accessible technologies that are rented locally or made from materials available in any hardware store. While marquees were hired from third parties and went up and down with great speed, the kiosks are left in place as a marker of someone's commercial claim on space. The tents use steel posts and vinyl fabric, while kiosks are made from salvage timber and shade netting.

The intention was to create a three dimensional thickened edge to the fields, in the form of a paved strip, mobile shade structure and signs. The shade cloth structure would lie along the field's street or path edge, positioned in between the game and the community at large. It would be white, a thickening of the white line, and a visually neutral object. The shade structure would be a cooler zone within which spectators, shading the players in waiting, officials, food stalls and passersby could slow down, meet and watch the game. The materials and tectonics of this design were derived from township vocabularies, specifically the marquees and kiosks, but changed their scale in terms of its length, and refine the connection details between materials. The final form was envisaged as a floating sheet of taut white fabric set along the field edge, with light uprights.

The opportunity to test the prototype tent took place in March 2012. Along with the Imvelo Youth I had identified a very ordinary soccer field, where someone had kindly put up posts. Imvelo Youth had been commissioned to clean the wetland area of this field, so the tournament was combined with a cleanup that fell under that independent mandate. We decided to run this tournament without any soccer organisation, merely paying someone a token fee to be referee and to run the order of play. The more relaxed nature of this tournament allowed for us to focus on putting up the tent. There was a problem fitting the very precise laser cut joints to the less accurate steel posts that had been delivered to site. The fabric was hard to stretch without strong anchoring at each end. Instead of an hour as planned, it took over a day to modify the joints to fit. But the scale and proportions of the tent worked well on the site. The games ended at dusk. The structure was full of spectators, the field felt protected, and the final match was superb.

TENTS IN KWATHEMA

1



2



3



4



a



b



c

KwaThema tent construction

a: marquees

b: kiosks

c: marquee construction

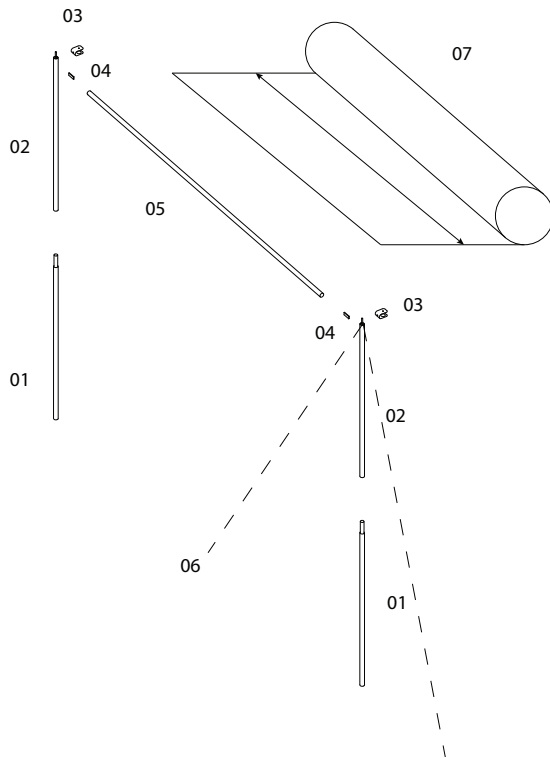
GEDULT PARK

EXISTING OPEN FIELD

WETLAND

GARDENING
PROJECT

GEDULT PARK ELEMENTS



01 Footing

Qty per frame = 2
Total qty = 26

02 Head piece

Qty per frame = 2
Total qty = 26

03 Joint

Qty per frame = 2
Total qty = 26

04 Clip piece

Qty per frame = 2
Total qty = 26

05 Beam

(3m long 31.8mm ϕ , 1.6mm thick steel round section)
Qty per frame = 1
Total qty = 23

06 2mm Steel rope

Qty per frame = 1x3m
= 1x4m
Total qty = 91m

07 White Knitted Fabric

3m x 49m



a: tent elements
c: tent and field

GEDULT PARK ELEMENTS

1



2



3



4



a



b



c

a: field preparation

b: tent

c: event

1

2

3

4

a



b



c



Tent construction

4.7 High School game

4.7.1 concluding event

The concluding tournament will take place in 2014, four years after the World Cup event. The wavering path of the PITCH project over this period has much to do with the learning how to construct relationships and artefacts in a township. The clarity of vision for the tournaments, their siting and material needs comes from community participants who are deeply invested in managing grassroots soccer with very limited resources. The challenge for an architectural gesture in this context, derived by mediating between these parties, lies in finding a scale of operation between the agency of the community and the resources of soccer's public funding³³. It is the judgement of when and how this meaningful gesture takes place that becomes the central reflective task in the process of choreographing the final event.

The scenario for the final event has been built up through the layers of the earlier games, which in turn are the product of local intelligence reflected in both physical and social practices. It has become clear that an event plays a critical role in celebrating potentials, but that it also has to be designed with a replicability in mind. This needs to be grounded in political realism, but should evoke a vision that will overcome the inertia of its peripheral location. Overcoming my misgivings with institutions as partners in this project, the event will be located in relation to a potential network of a future High School soccer league. The advice of the Dreamfield Project has been invaluable in building this collaborative scenario³⁴. The event will also launch the whitelineunit of the Imvelo Youth into the public realm. It will be designed with their future autonomy and visibility in mind.

Lastly, the concluding event intends to draw attention to the conditions of public space within KwaThema, through its location in a visible site in the township. It will present the image of appropriated use alongside the agents that made it happen: the whitelineunit, scholars, players, school staff and publics. The conclusion of the design process as the staging of an event will therefore be both the handover of the project and the context through which its social reception is tested and mapped.

4.7.2 excavating the field

The locational strategy of the final tournament relates to the broader questions posed by the surfeit of public space in KwaThema. It will be positioned at the High School field which lies in the heart of the modernist section of the

³³ The intention is that ongoing life of the PITCH project will be packaged as a funding proposal to the Legacy Fund in collaboration with the Imvelo Youth and KwaThema High Schools.

³⁴ Interview with John Perlman, 2011. The Dreamfields Project has evolved from being a Non Governmental Organisation funded by social responsibility donations from corporates, to the point of proposing collaboration with the Department of Education in reviving league matches at School levels. The Dreamfields Project hopes to orchestrate the intersections between outside sponsorship, local management and joint facilities management to keep soccer leagues going.

township, in the so-called CBD proposed by Calderwood in the 1950's. The site was allocated to Tlakula High School's use, but was also in the public domain. It remains used and unfenced until now. Older players remember tournaments at High School field well, and one aspect of the final event will be to excavate these memories.

4.7.3 lining the field

The association of the field with a High School calls for the inclusion of pedagogic element in its use. The first step of this link will be a workshop with scholars in using geometry to layout the lines on the field. The far edge of the field will be lined with fabric, to suggest different possibilities for this backdrop to be used for visual communication.

The design of the tent's section has cycled between a tree structure designed for the Eudy Field, but not built, the portals of the Gedult Game, to a final section that is a hybrid between these two. It uses the asymmetrical, angled posts and anchored ropes to stretch the shade fabric. The alignment of this shade structure on the west side of the field, along the street, recreates the urbanity that Calderwood proposed for the CBD in his original design, and that was left unimplemented in the anti-urban apartheid period. However, there is a temporal urbanity that happens in this area on pension days. During these bi-monthly events, mobile units are set up in the hall to dispense cash payments to the elderly, drawing a market that lines the streets and plaza leading to the hall. When pension payments coincide with the days that the shade structure is put up, its public realm could work in two directions, towards the market and its potential customers and towards the games.

This edge element could be added to by other actors from within and outside the township. These additional elements would be suspended or housed within its frame and might include food stalls, furniture, signage, branding and VIP enclosures. The shade structure could therefore filter the influence of the networks around soccer.

4.7.4 blank visuality

The event will extend the chromacity of white lines into the elements used in and around the game. The shadecloth will be made from used banners from the 2010 World Cup from which advertising has been removed. Apart from the tent, white balls, white vests and white medals will be issued. These are elements that are usually loaded with brand marks and logos. The strategy of blank visuality intends to communicate the open potentials of the event. For the players, the lack of identification allows them to make choices between their school teams, local community ones or professional leagues. In this way the High School field can become a site that is associated with the sorts of unsponsored, grassroots games that were part of its early years, rather than with the highly commercialised sport that soccer has become. This may offer the talented players some sort of immunity from contracts, or at least, offer a consciousness of the affiliations.

HIGH SCHOOL FIELD CONTEXT



HIGH SCHOOL
PLANS

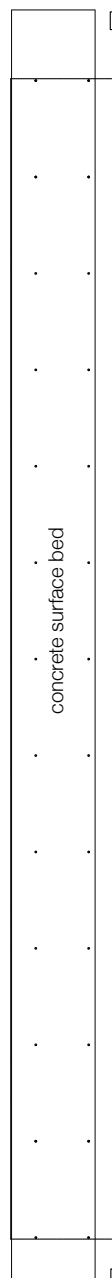
transport trolley



transport bag



SETTING OUT PLAN

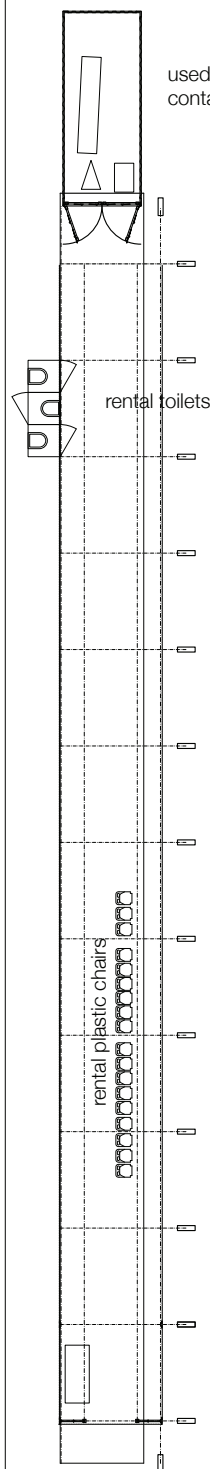
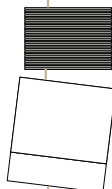


concrete surface bed

used tyres



white line painter



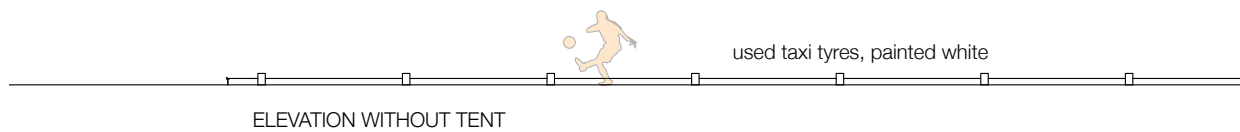
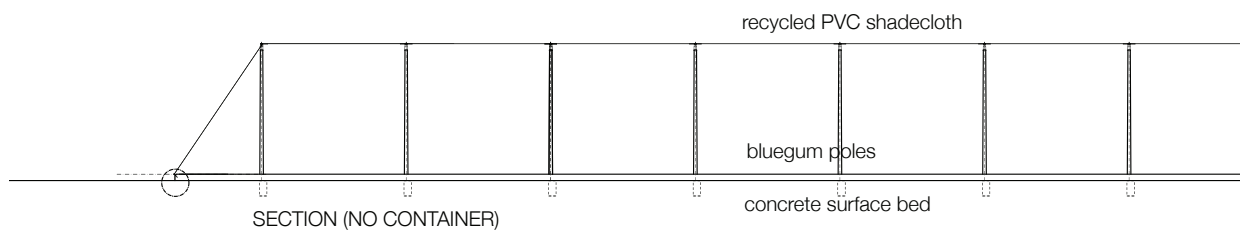
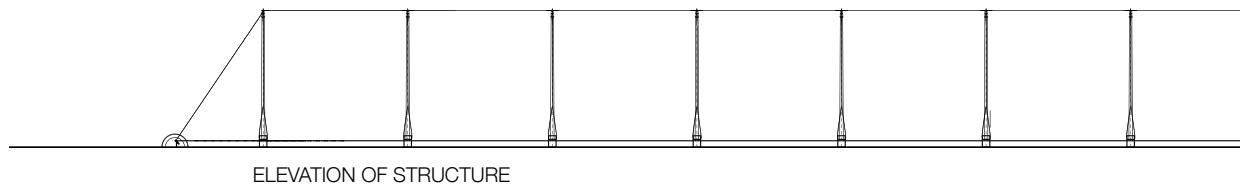
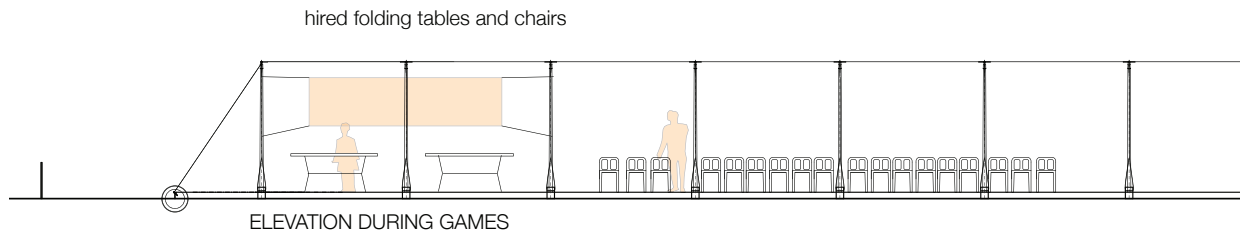
used shipping
container (optional)

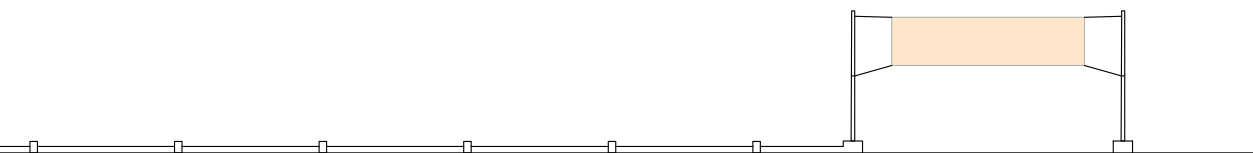
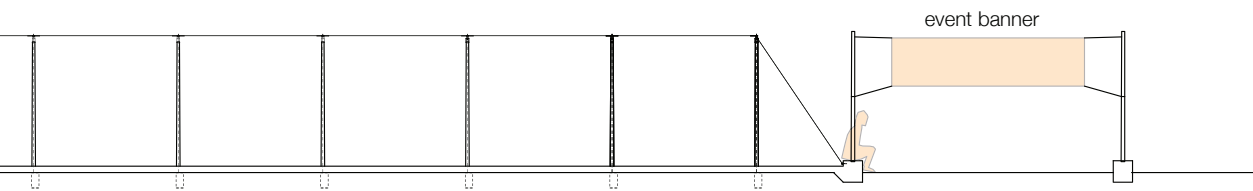
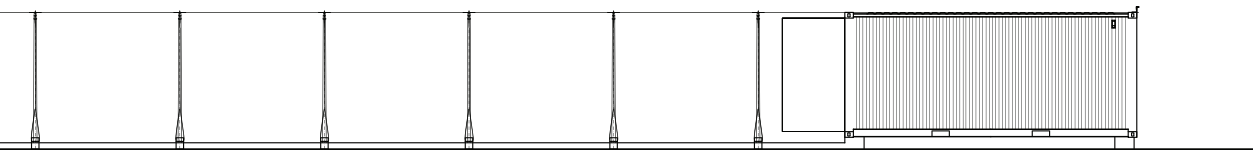
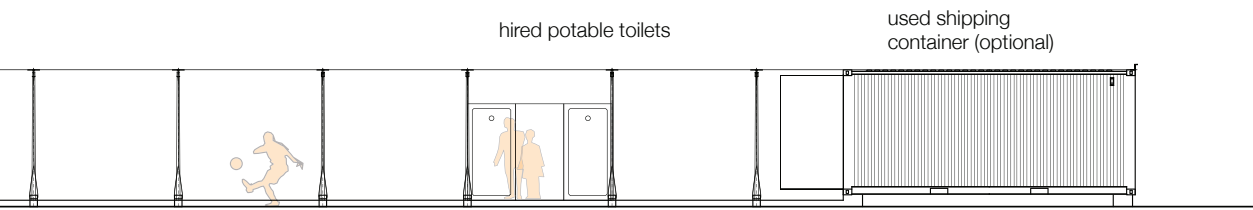
rental toilets

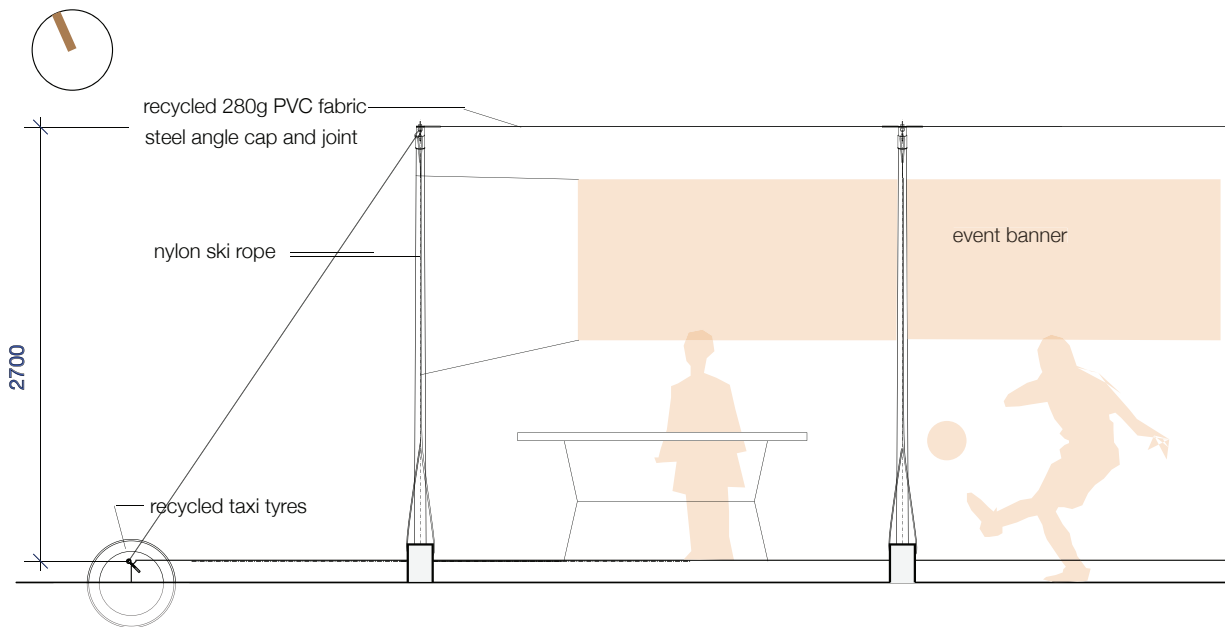
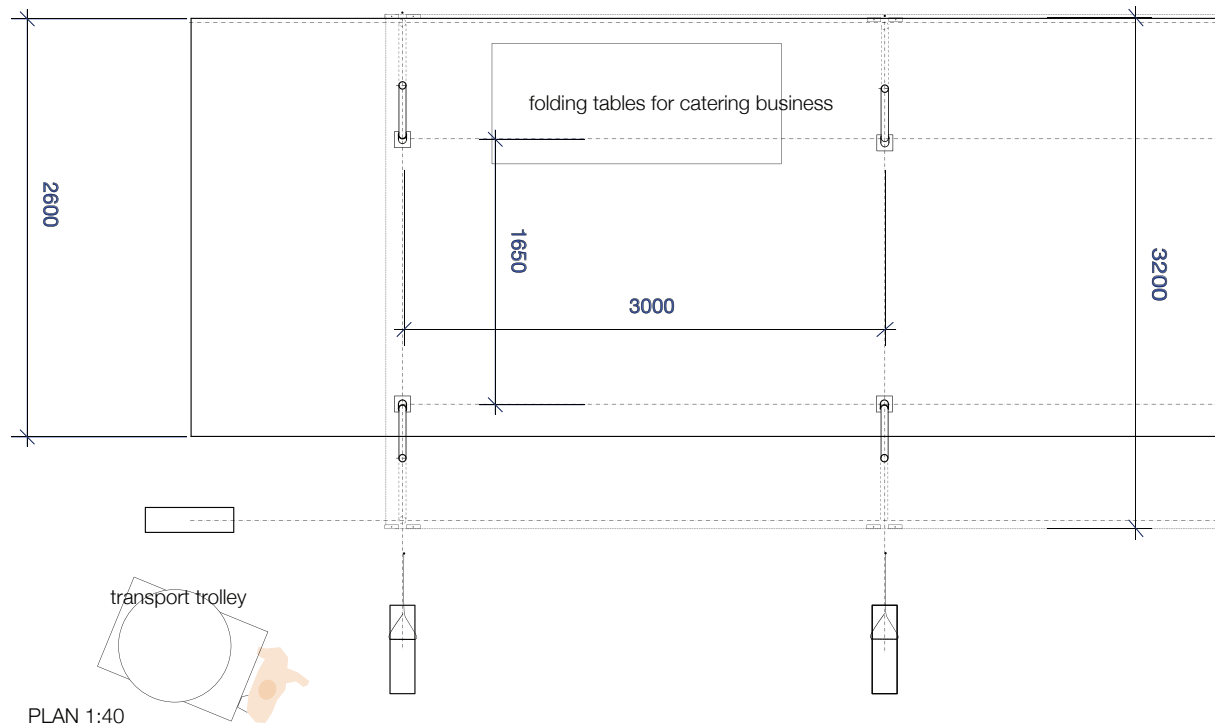
rental plastic chairs

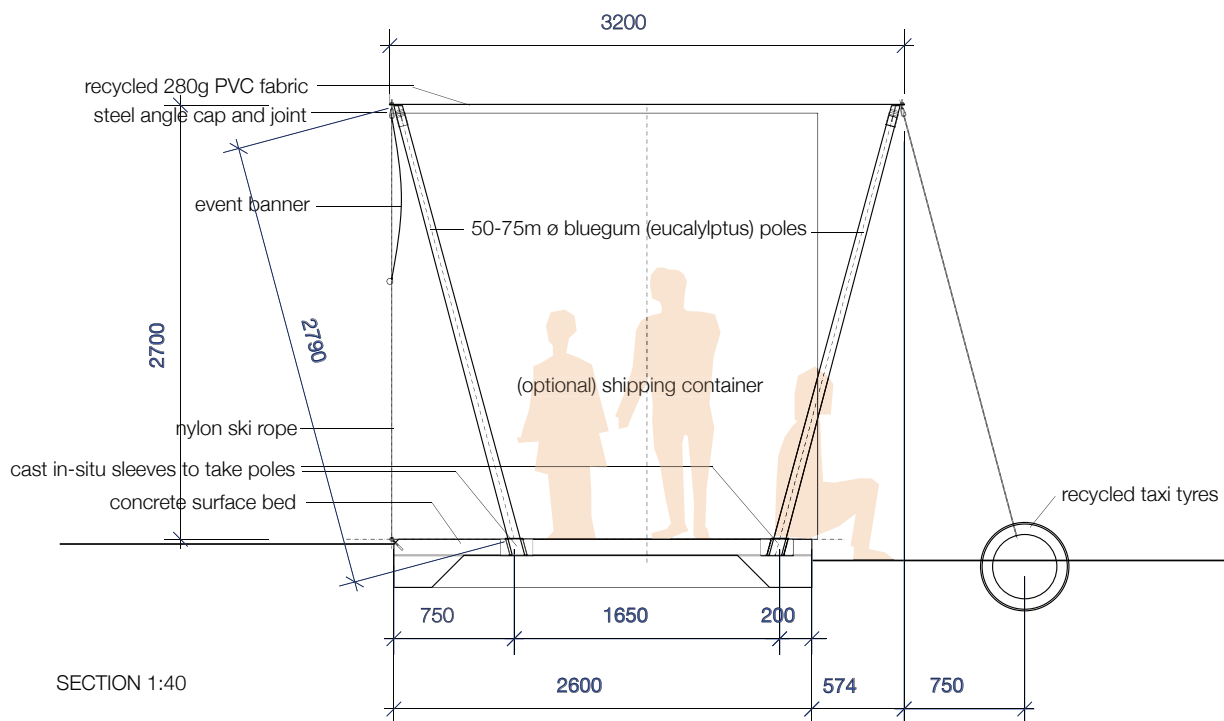
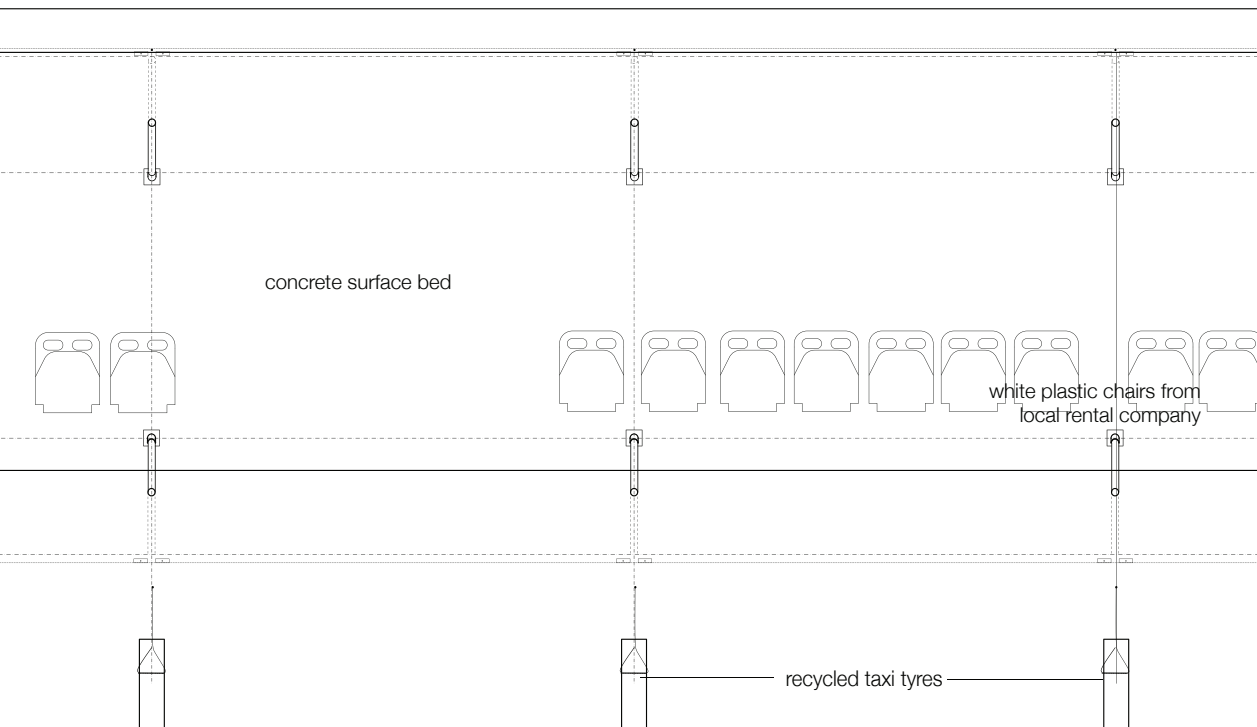
PLAN

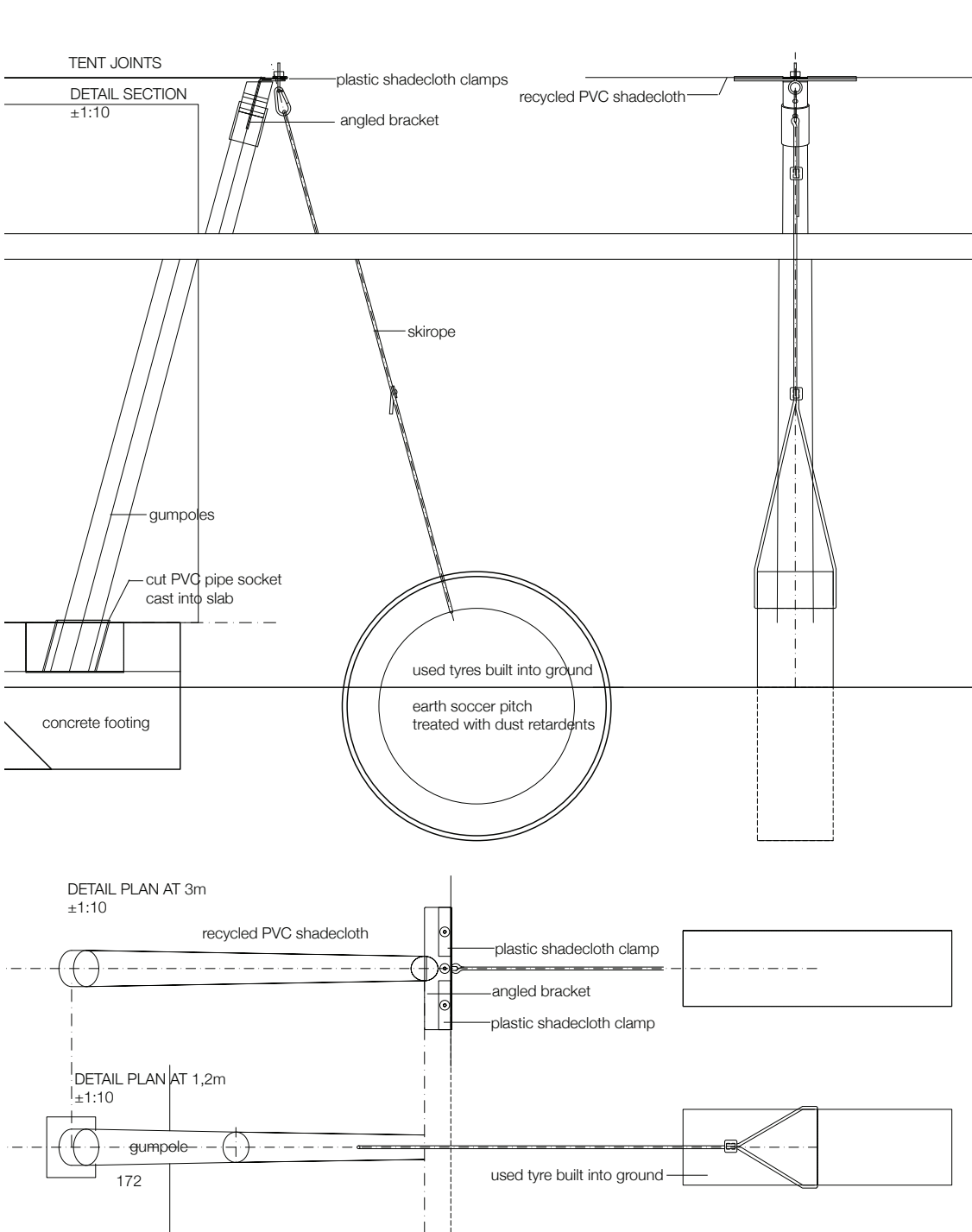












HIGH SCHOOL GAME PLAN

1



2



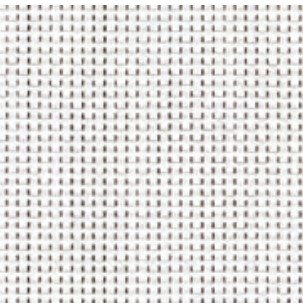
3



4



a



b



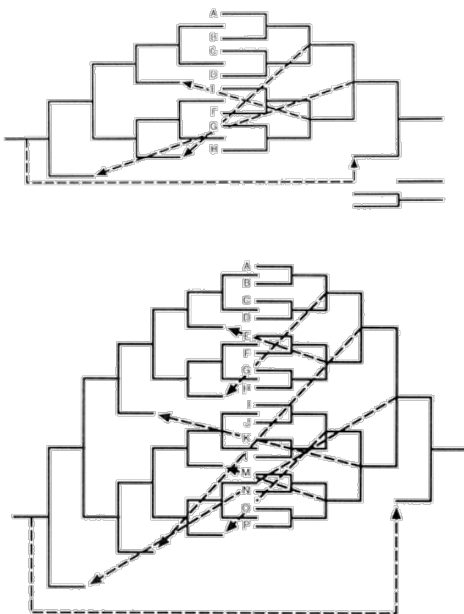
c

4.7.5 game to network

The High School event is designed to re-centre KwaThema soccer within a network of locally organised sports events. There is considerable nostalgia about the field, as it was the place where some famous players began their careers³⁵. It is located in the blocks of KwaThema that were designed as the centre that was never realised in full.

The vision developed with the coach of Tlakula High, “Whitey” Tchowa, is to revive the Wednesday afternoon soccer tournaments of a few years back. The tent and preparation of the High School Field will serve to launch this league. If the league can be sustained, it can be supported with the mobile infrastructure of the tent moving to different fields during the year for further events. The mobile tent and league would also allow the implementation of the Open Fields tournament planned with Innocent Mayoyo. It would be particularly valuable for the extensions of KwaThema where there is almost no public infrastructure.

There are 19 Primary and 8 Secondary Schools in the area. The progression to a final in a Round Robin structure would take seven rounds for the primary schools and five for the secondary schools, fitting into the provincial schools’ soccer season that runs from May to July in better resourced communities. But other permutations of inter school games or regional tournaments could be developed to enrich the culture of Wednesday soccer in KwaThema. There is scope for entrepreneurial individuals and soccer NGO’s to get sponsorship to run leisure leagues within the same infrastructure.



Left: tournament structure for school sports teams (San Diego County Office of Education, 2013).

³⁵ Interviews with “Teenage” Dladla (2008) and Innocent Mayoyo (2010).


4.7.6 network to Commons

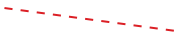
The process of visualising the act of putting up the tents in Eudy, Gedult and High School pitches generated strong visions of cleaner, clearer park spaces. By maintaining these many fields cyclically, the overall care of public space in KwaThema will begin to become an area of connected concern, as the sphere of awareness around each cleanup begins to overlap. At the same time, the movement of the tent infrastructure and of teams of young players through the township can draw attention to the relationships between open space, fields and pedestrian movement.


The tent is not proposed as a permanent element, or even an incremental approach to the eventual formalisation of the open space into fenced pitches. Only the base of the tent, a horizontal slab, will remain in place as a marker, and when games are not in progress it can serve as a support for games, chalk drawings, spaza shops or nothing. The tent itself will take on a life of its own as the catalytic element - the *transform* - that will play an ongoing role in the collective recognition of the spaces of KwaThema as an area of mutual concern.

The final drawing shows the extensiveness of these spaces as potential corridors for soccer games and their supporting infrastructure. Through the medium of the temporary tent and mobile games, the background space of KwaThema's open ground can become a Commons, with further support for these activities, in the form of spaza shops, lighting, bridges, ablutions, alongside the other coexistent temporal uses. With all land potentially activated in this way, the wasting of land through dumping, and its possession by specific interest groups, will be seen as a threat to these futures and kept at bay.

KWATHEMA SOCCER NETWORKS

POTENTIAL PITCHES 

TENT ROUTES 

HIGH SCHOOL FIELD 

POTENTIAL LEAGUES

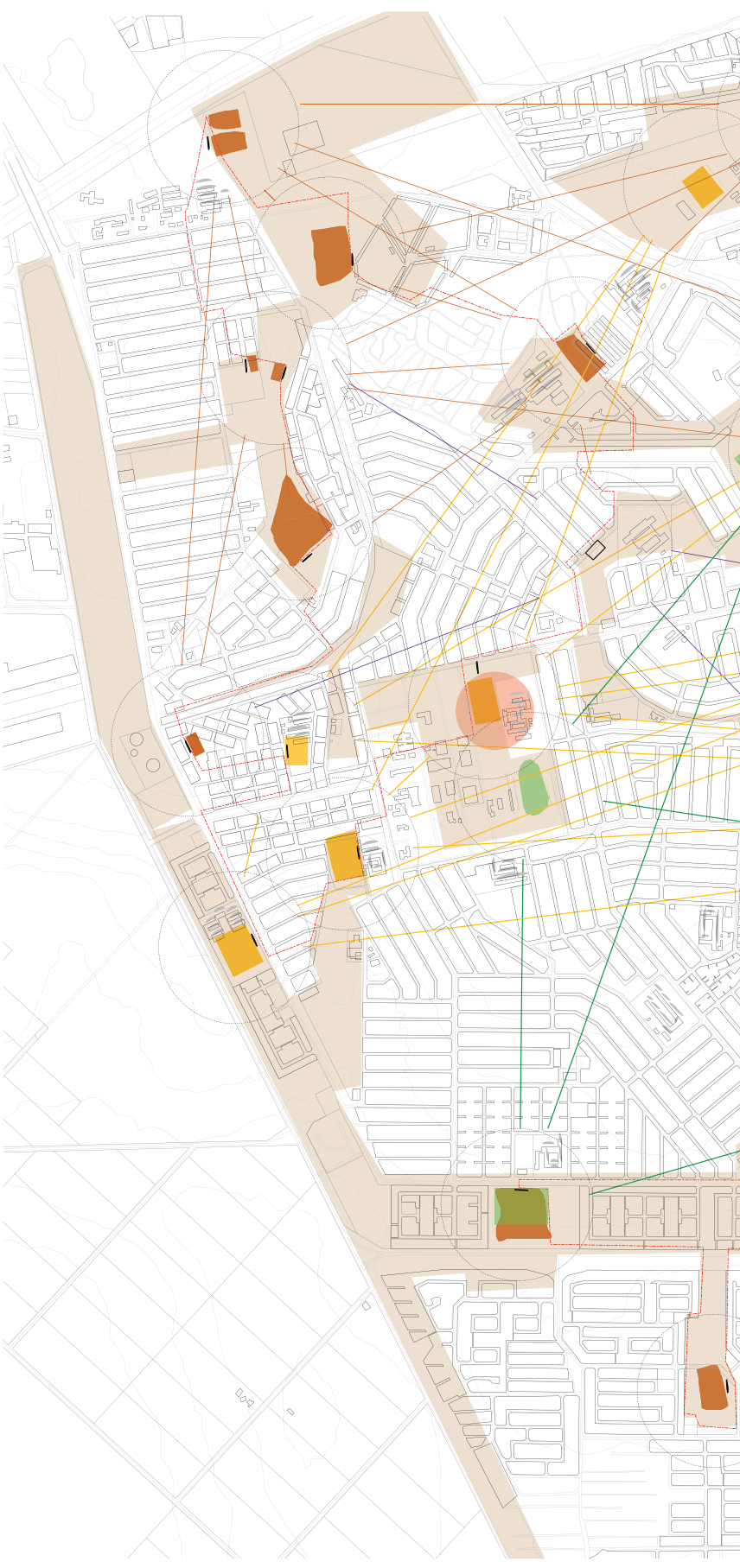
SAFA 

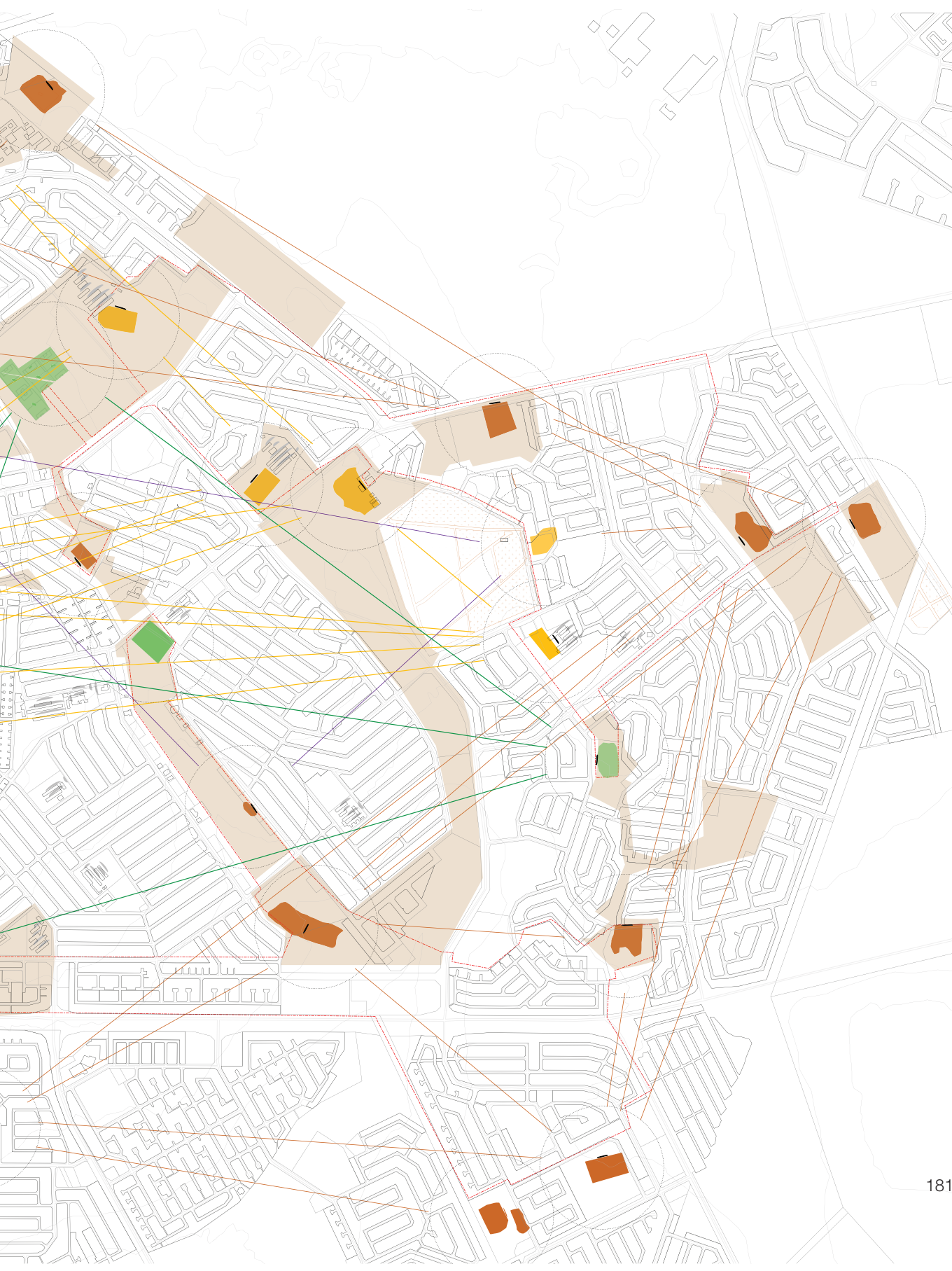
SCHOOLS 

SOCIAL 

MINI 

180









5. conclusion

The landscape of inland South Africa is replete with open space, a land use that was designed into the fabric of its typical townships and between townships and other areas. The liminal space in townships of these buffer zones and open grounds came from apartheid's limited investment in townships and desire for separation. Amongst the uses that, often temporarily, lay claim to this space are soccer pitches. Areas of scraped earth are ubiquitous, the consequence of self-organisation in black communities during their urbanisation. In the democratic post-1994 period, the intervention of internationally aligned football associations has led to increasing control of these spaces, through gatekeeping of funds used to fence, grass and ultimately own these fields.

In the PITCH project, the open field is proposed as a form of resistance to spatial ownership and to the exploitation of youth by those groups that control the professional soccer leagues. Beginning with the lightest form of intervention, its iterations led to the design of a scenario in which space would be accessed through a non-profit network within the school communities.

The project documented the generic soccer sites of Gauteng, as well as the specific fields at Riverside, Gedult and High School in KwaThema. This led to an understanding of soccer and space: the multiplicity of games and actors; the method of making fields and also the consequences of a singular ownership on one field. The practice based research highlighted the strategic connections between communities and soccer spaces: they co-depend. Without investment open space becomes wasteland, and without multiple uses, the open space is also wasted.

The designerly path for the project was suggested by those elements most apparent in a body of filmic and photographic representations. Firstly, soccer has a specific temporality, as it "takes place" and then disappears, leaving a trace only in posts, fading lines and trampled earth. But it also links to ephemeral infrastructures that tend to be excluded when these fields were fenced and formalised.

The critical design of the PITCH project prevents the permanence of soccer institutions from taking precedence over the common space and life implicit in and around the game itself. It does so by drawing on the rich township tradition of temporary tent and kiosk structures, and portable infrastructures that are designed to thicken the boundary between the pitch and the community, and to signal the events of rotating tournaments.

To choreograph the games, PITCH involved a series of collaborations with Ayoba-Yo, the Eudy Park activists and the youth from Gedult. A final proposal has been developed for design of a portable tent to be sited first at the High

School Field, on the boundary between this open pitch and the central area of the township, and rolled on to other open fields.

The inaugural game is designed to catalyse relationships between people and space through the medium of the soccer event and its tent. The mobility of the event and network of players that it will link and support can highlight the asset of open land that threads through the township, connecting people with each other and the open spaces of soccer. The consequence is the transformation of open land into a Commons that is neither claimable, nor wasted, at the same time as youth reclaim their agency through play.

3. BUNNABET JEPPE: A MATRIX TRANSFORMS

BUNNABET, 4TH FLOOR OF FORMER MEDICAL CENTRE, JEPPE 2011





1. overview

1.1 coffee (g)rounds

“The coffee will be served strong and black, with plenty of sugar (or salt if you happen to be in the countryside) already added. Everyone will watch you take your first sip to see how you enjoy it. Be lavish with your praise. Smack your lips and admire the rich flavor. Congratulate your hostess on her skillful preparation.

Soon you will be offered another cup. Nod your head enthusiastically and accept it.

Not long after, you will be offered still one more cup. Say yes, even if you can feel your heart beginning to palpitate and your pupils contracting to pinpoints. The third cup of coffee is called *baraka*, which means, ‘to be blessed’. This is the cup that seals your new friendship, and the coffee ceremony is not complete until it’s drunk.”

(Dunlop, 2010)

1.2 BunnaBet

BunnaBet probes the unexpected encounters that take place within the dense matrix of the multistoried, gridded modernist city. The object of design, a setting for the coffee ceremony, is somewhere to drink Ethiopian coffee but simultaneously can be other things. The probe of the BunnaBet has been developed as a pedagogic device that assigns metaphorical roles to the elements of the coffee ceremony as a means to re-imagine its urban context. It could go so far as to materially effect urban renewal. At the same time it is a strategic object that is re-created outside its origins to extend the circulation of coffee, through the agency of the coffee lady, to new sites and scales.

The existing *bunna bets* of Johannesburg’s inner city play a critical role in the area’s shift from an empty to lived modernist space. They have contributed physical, atmospheric, economic and social layers to the re-occupation of these buildings. The initial part of narrating this project therefore documents this process of change in the spaces around and within the *bunna bets*. It takes the form of annotated photoessays and sketches. The next part describes the ongoing project of researching the context of the *bunna bets*, the area called Jeppe by its users, through engaged processes with its social, urban, artefactual and organisational aspects. This constructive research learns from, adopts and amplifies the role the existing *bunna bets* play as a space for dialogue between urban practitioners and immigrant communities. The five rounds of experimental projects involved served to add layers to the development of a final project’s design. The first is an intervention at an urban studies conference; the second an exhibition; the third, a field office; the fourth, a guided walk and the last, a mandatory plan.

The picture built up over four years of engagement with the Jeppe area and its community is irreducible to a single solution for the area's obvious marginality. The situation found in Jeppe is simultaneously vulnerable and resilient and the borderline nature of the place makes it highly resistant to engagement. At the same time, within the limited means that this community has to invest in its own future, it seems that it has some desire to move this marginalised status to become a permanent and recognised formal area in the city. The *bunna bet* seems to be the single point of entry that the area offers to host such recognition.

The projects of engagement come together in a conceptual model that reflects on the elements of the coffee ceremony as a metaphor for its greater context and projects. This text runs parallel to the design process that draws the BunnaBet into (re)production as a designerly space, a common ground for Habesha recognition and entry into the area for outsiders. The concrete outcome is a designed artefact - the BunnaBet - that works at different, but interlinked scales, in the transformation of the area and its actors' lives.

2. first round: from boxes to trays

2.1 the urban grid

Johannesburg, like many colonial cities, was first laid out on a grid in 1885. The city was divided into equal blocks, in turn subdivided into erven (property stands) of just over 16 metre street frontages (Beavon, 2004) . The few buildings that remain from this period are single to three storied structures, relating closely to the street edge, and with internal lightwells. This parcellation of downtown was extruded into a vertical grid, increasingly so in the 1950's and 1960's, when investment logic resulted in the maximum permissible coverage of the land. As a result, up until the plaza fronted tower blocks of the 1970's, the grid was extruded to an average of six stories across several hundred blocks, punctuated only by the cut of the railway lines and a few civic spaces and buildings.

Images of the city in the 1960's show the qualities of this dense urban environment. The inner city of Johannesburg was strictly zoned as a white business and residential area under the Group Areas Act of 1951, with only a few black workers allowed to stay on the set back top floors. In its building forms, management and uses it was otherwise a near-mirror of many western urban downtowns.

The buildings from the modernist period of the 1950's and 60's were built on consolidated erven, creating an uneven cluster of larger blocks. The new buildings tended to continue the street edge with cantilevered canopies and shopfronts onto the pavement. The ground floors contained shops, restaurants and services, and most of the upper floors accommodated either medical suites, offices or apartments. Larger scale developments, involving the consolidation of two city blocks, happened with the development of the Sanlam Centre (now Marble Towers), a 33 storey building built in 1973 to house an insurance company, and the Sun International hotel from 1985. Both these buildings were tower blocks, set back from the street with a plaza at the base.

From the 1980's, the uses of the urban grid began to change, losing the modernist uniformity that had been enforced with apartheid's support. In response to the pull of newer urban centres and in flight from an increasingly mixed population in racial terms, the area was deserted by white commercial tenants and residents who moved northwards in the city or emigrated (Morris, 1999). Many buildings were simply vacated, and in many cases taken over by slumlords. There was little management from the City to deal with the conditions of vacancy and slumming until the late 1990's. By then, new communities had begun to inscribe specific qualities on areas of the inner city, overlaying its uniformity with their own logics of use.

INNER CITY JOHANNESBURG, 1930'S



JEPPE AREA, 2010



2.2 Habesha Jeppe

The Habesha trading empire is located in an area that is commonly called “Jeppe” after Jeppe Street, the main east-west thoroughfare that runs through its core. It is located in a highly trafficked part of the inner city with taxis running along Jeppe and Bree Streets. Directly to the north are the Union Square taxi parkade and ranks, to the south, long distance bus stops and Faraday station and to the east, the new Fashion District Rapid Bus Transit (Rea Vaya) stop.

Ethiopia's history intertwines with this eastern area of Johannesburg's downtown from around 1994 onwards. The division of Eritrea and Ethiopia, as well as the persecution of Oromo people under Selassie, the Derg and the post-1995 government of Meles Zenawi (Amnesty International, 2011, The Advocates for Human Rights, 2009) pushed political refugees and economically ambitious young people to emigrate to the West. Johannesburg, seen as a stepping stone on this route, became a popular destination³⁶. Some stories locate the first Ethiopian immigrants in Johannesburg in Market Street in the 1990's, where they found work with the longstanding Indian fabric and clothing traders in this part of town. Seeking their own businesses, some of these traders moved four blocks to the north, to the pavements outside the vacant buildings along Jeppe Street, where they sold camera film, batteries and homeware. This wave of Habesha immigration coincided with the growth of local informal traders, and patterns of coexistence between immigrants, international supply chains and local hawkers consolidated their locations and expanded their range of goods. The established traders moved from the pavements to the adjacent shops, so making space for newcomers and creating an incredible density at street level. Today, Ethiopians and Eritreans trade out of at least twenty buildings in close proximity, intensely using spaces from the pavements to up to twelve storeys into the buildings.

Trading is at several scales, from individual items to multiple packs of small household goods and clothing. The trade is largely to hawkers, many from Gauteng townships but also from distant Botswana, Lesotho and Maputo. Alongside the cheap facsimile branded fashion items like jeans and sneakers, the area offers unique services like hand made Rastafarian gear, customised curtaining, beauty salons, travel agencies, bridal boutiques and communications businesses. The fabric trade is benefited by Malawian and Southern African tailors who run up bespoke curtains and make *tshwetshwe* pinafores. The trader community, which is still dominated by the Habesha communities but includes other Africans and Asians, is networked by meetings that take place in at least twenty

³⁶ South Africa's post-apartheid Constitution supports the acceptance of political refugees, and it is an accessible portal to other countries. Many of the Habesha immigrants have claimed refugee status and view their stay in Johannesburg as a period to grow their finances and obtain visas for a final destination in the West. Because African immigrants are subject to victimisation by the police and local residents, the community continues to view the city as a stopover, despite many cases of commercial success.

coffee shops, restaurants and culture shops. Most of the restaurants and coffee shops are located away from the street, within the upper floors of the buildings, in quieter ends of corridors.

The spatial strategies used by the immigrant traders and their landlords to redevelop the area were unique in the inner city. Goods and services were dispersed across the blocks, reflecting complex system of collaboration between suppliers, street level traders and the owners of on-site storage spaces. The intensification of the initial street level trading has happened in every direction: upwards, downwards, and into the depths of the city blocks. Trade is supported by fast and fluid systems, including cash management, mobile phones, fleets of vans, mobile food and drinks, the trolley pushers who assist in moving goods to the public transport terminals (Farouk, 2009), and the onsite storage and manufacture of goods in the upper levels of the buildings.

Around 2005 the trader community set up a cooperative association, The Horn of Africa, to create a secure environment for cash deals, so creating substantial growth. Street level rentals rose to levels in excess of those at premier suburban malls, with “key money” changing hands to secure shops (Negash, 2009) from basement level to the third floor. As a result new shops were developed in old and new buildings and through new mid-block passageways.

The growth of Jeppe over the last decade, although incredibly fast, was also tenuous, driven by short term actions that overrode most existing legal frameworks. Perhaps inevitably, the conflict between the dynamics of the traders and the City Council has now come to a head. The spontaneous growth of the area threatened council and state driven incentives to renew inner city buildings for new middle class residents, through social housing finance and tax incentives (Murray, 2011). Customs raids targeting the traders were carried out from 2010 onwards (de Kock, 2012, GypsyJournos, 2012). In September 2013, the Johannesburg Metro Council began to take action against the traders. At first buildings were closed for contravention of fire regulations. A more drastic action took place from early October 2013 when the City's Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) began to remove all street trading stalls, confiscating goods and effectively banning street traders (Cunningham, 2013). The action has precipitated multiple and contradictory reactions including retaliatory legal charges against the Metro and ad-hoc proposals for new spatial arrangements for trading.

At the time of writing this the future of informal trading in the inner city is open; the Constitutional Court has judged that traders have a right to work on the streets while the City is managing the urban redesign of its streets and public spaces. The very existence of the Jeppe street trading empire is unknown, excluded from the legal cases and city plans by virtue of its marginal position in relation to the law and the city's “proper” improvement areas.

CUSTOMS AND POLICE RAID, JEPPE, 2013

1



2



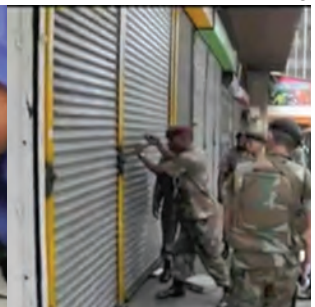
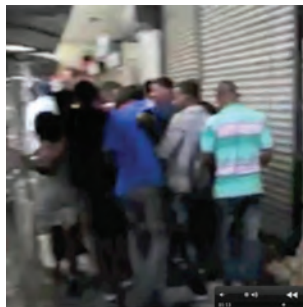
3



4



a



b



c

2.3 boxes in boxes

Over and above the extraordinary dynamism of a commercial community operating on the edge of legality, the interest of Jeppe for architecture lies in the complex spatial patterns inherent in the re-occupation of the modernist grid. This form of lived modernism fills the grid in a mosaic-like way, and exploits the openings created by earlier densification. It fractalises space, subdividing it down to the scale of the individual body of the traders in repetitive ways. The consequence is a layered geometry of transnational forms and uses onto modernist buildings, set onto colonial grids. The traces of the layers intersect and interrelate in a complex play of gestures that reassert, erase, or intersect with the previous period's geometries.

The area is formed as much by overlapping temporalities as it is by layers that can be read visually. The rhythms of use defy any split of the area's activities or forms into categories of new or old. Old, active trading practices are inserted into more passive modernist frames; the original subdivisions of the city blocks reappear as larger modernist spaces are subdivided to accommodate ever more traders. The more marginalised urban agents like the trolley pushers make a living by fitting their presence around the motion of the city and so amplify it. Set against this bustle is the episodic but powerful intervention of property investors and the council, who act through intermittent, large scale shifts of capital, policy or agents in the area. The serving of coffee is an intermediate rhythm, constant but responsive to the dynamics of trade.

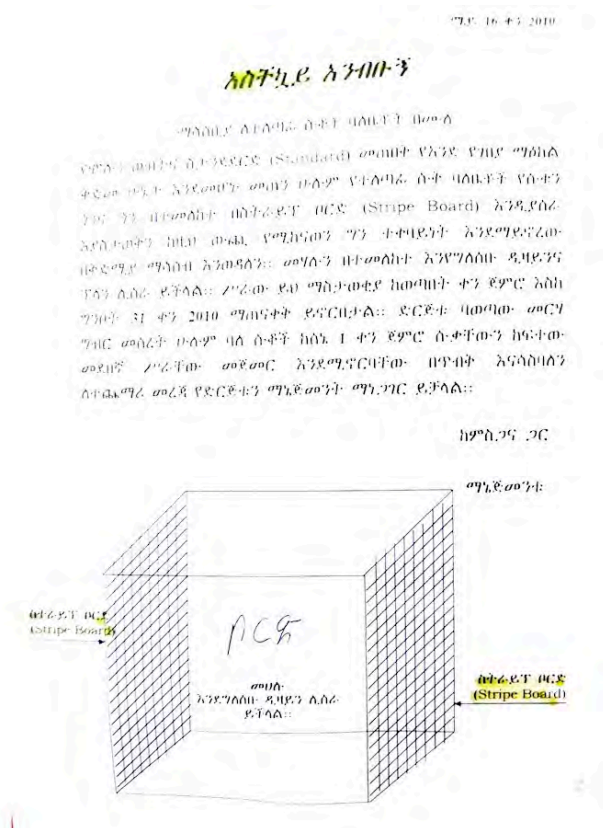
At an urban scale, the spatial impact of the modernist period of building was to leave a differentiated mass of large and relatively under-determining spaces into the area. Planning regulations had limited the coverage of the stands and dictated set backs to access sunlight (City of Johannesburg, 1947). The "centres" and "towers" of this period created both open and built spaces. The use of cantilevered canopies and glazed shopfronts kept the northern edge of Jeppe Street intact as a continuous shopping strip. The plaza spaces, upper floors and even plinth rooftops are significant urban voids.

One quality of Jeppe's urban change is the shifting scales of its parcellation. Through the process of fractalisation of space, in the pursuit of ever-expanding frontage to the circulation paths, this area has returned to a pre-modernist density of individual shops. Small trading cubicles and containers are embedded in the bigger boxes of the modernist buildings, both and inside and outside their boundaries at street level. Most new tenants trade at the scale of individual shops that are subdivisions of former shops and suites. There are no maps of the area as it stands as present: the City's planning office has archival drawings that only represent the existing buildings as originally planned. Most changes have been done without municipal approval, with buildings changed internally although, as concrete structures, the frames remain largely intact. The alteration of space happens by tacit agreement between traders and owners, neither engaging with the complex process of obtaining formal building approval.

There are similarities and differences between buildings that relate to their ownership and their position in the sequence of the growth of trading. Johannesburg Wholesale Centre 1, which was owned by a Chinese landlord, was restructured around 2000 from medical suites into shops and curtain making businesses on six levels, and has storage on the upper floors. A number of restaurants were established to serve the tenants. The model possibly reproduces Asian highrise buildings - perhaps models from Kowloon or Taipei - and was later repeated in adjacent blocks, with variations. The Medical Arts building, for instance, also includes some residential spaces, but few curtaining shops. In the Joburg Mall, two buildings have been linked with a wide passageway on three levels that brings together shops and services aimed at the Habesha community, including many restaurants.

Networks link the tiny and discreet spaces in the area. Although there are some large shops, the current model is based on the occupation of the 2 to 3 square meter wide former shopfront cavities and souk-like passages. The boundaries of each trading space is entirely within arms reach. The changes of Jeppe bring it closer to the bodies of its traders and enhances their access to their customers and each other. In a sense, the success of the area relates to the investment in such personal scales of agency. While this agency is legible everywhere, the coffee shops are one place where the staging of such constructions of encounter and the spaces they entail is intensely present.

Advertisement with drawing of micro-shop design, taped to wall on building site, unknown author. Jeppe area, 2010.



2.4 the consequences of reuse

The metaphor of a box turning into a tray was used to begin this contextual history. The reuse of Jeppe has deconstructed the box-like qualities of the modernist period to return its architecture to an earlier condition of surfaces in a small scale, gridded matrix. The scale of individual bodies and their actions and materials at hand has become the dominant image, one in which the multiplicity of movements sometimes suggests chaos and makes the area vulnerable to control through raids and policing. In developing the Bunna-Bet project, this scale is related back to that of the area as a whole, and even the city, through recognition of other geometries that the bodies of its users have made and negotiate: fractalisation, flows, vertical connectivity, porosity and platforms.

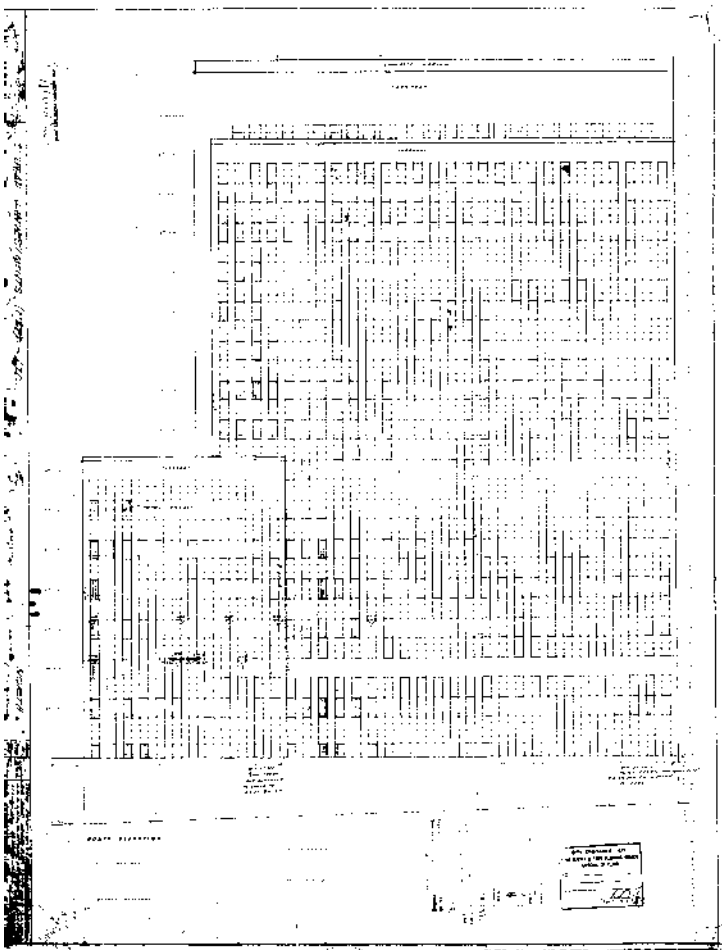
2.5 Majesty building

Between 2009 and 2010, along with graduate students and Naomi Roux, I documented one building in Jeppe in detail (Pinther et al., 2010). The Majesty Building, once Medical Arts Tower, had been built in 1954, designed by the practice Young, Morgenstern and Morgenstern to accommodate medical suites. The building has common areas of a ground floor waiting room, leading to a lift lobby from which four lifts reach the upper floors. The individual suites were reached from the east-west internal corridor off the lift lobbies.

While it was hugely popular in the 1950's, by the late 1980s the original tenants began to leave Medical Arts Building. Patients refused to come downtown, preferring to visit suburban and mall based doctors. Buildings such as Medical Arts found few paying tenants and maintenance was drastically cut back. After 1976, the area around the building was home to tenancies related to trade unions and Portuguese diaspora from Mocambique, and in due course, Kerk Street, one block to the south, became a point of entry to the city from Maputo, with a daily bus and adjacent wholesale shops and markets.

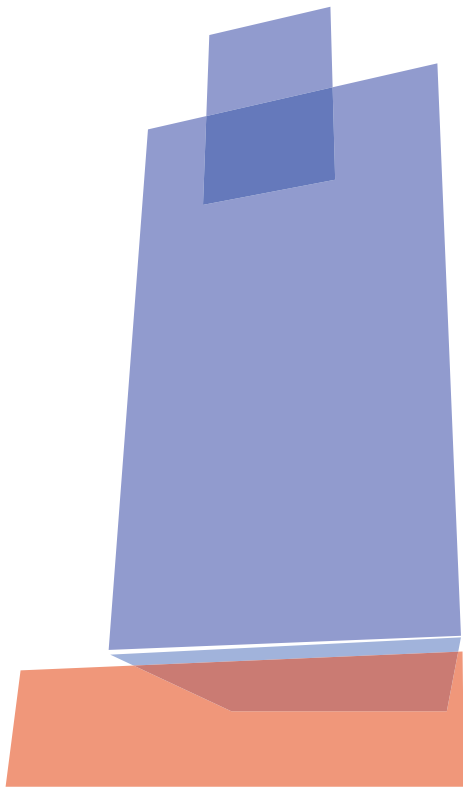
In researching the building, we struggled to date the point at which Habesha diaspora adopted the building for an unofficial headquarters. The Ethiopian traditional goods shop dated to around 2007 and the largest restaurant was built in 2010, extending over the next three years to the slab over building's first floor. In 2010 the ownership included both South African Indian and Habesha partners. There seemed to be no limitations on the sorts of uses that could operate out of Majesty. Amongst others we found dormitories, shoe and overall manufacturing, a college, a church, currency traders, at least four restaurants as well as large amounts of retail space and storage. One unconfirmed rumour was that a print shop offering fake identity papers operated intermittently out of the upper floors. The management suite was understandably heavily secured.

Majesty is simultaneously vibrant and disturbing, accessible and secretive. The restaurant on the first floor openly advertises, but entering it involves walking down a tight passage and up a staircase laden with parcel bearers. We were allowed access to many places to photograph them, but decided to blank out all faces to protect the identities of their tenants and users. Majesty's mosaic of uses represents the potential qualities of the grid as it is inhabited without an a-priori idea of use, but in response to associational opportunities and growth. The robust and open quality of the original construction supports this diversification. The strategic location of the restaurants and coffee shops, overlooking, within, and at the ends of passages allow for the fixed tenants and a large number of free-floating entrepreneurs to stay in touch without leaving the complex.



Medical Arts (now Majesty) building elevation,
Morgenstern and Morgenstern architects, 1961

MAJESTY BUILDING USES IN 1961 AND 2011



services

retail

1961





storage

restaurant

storage

storage
manufacture

storage
manufacture

storage
services

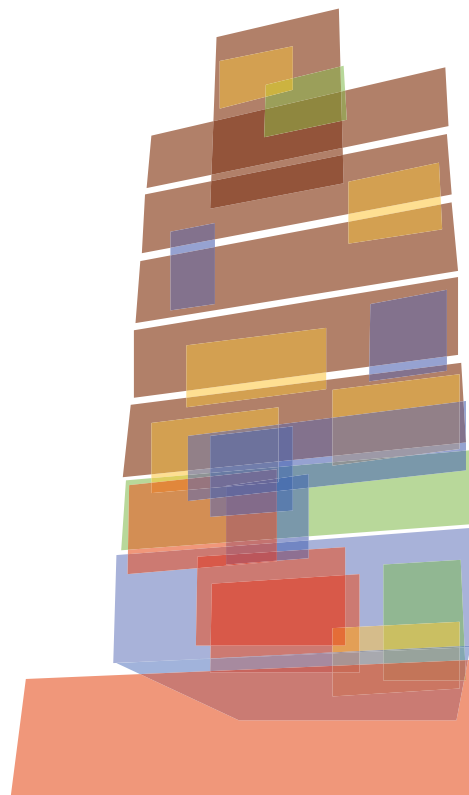
storage
manufacture
services

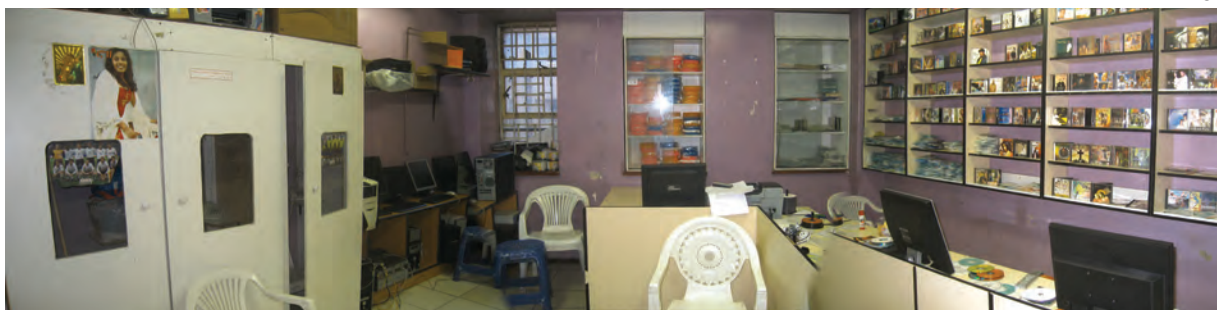
retail
services
restaurants

retail
services
restaurant
manufacture

retail

2011





a



b



c





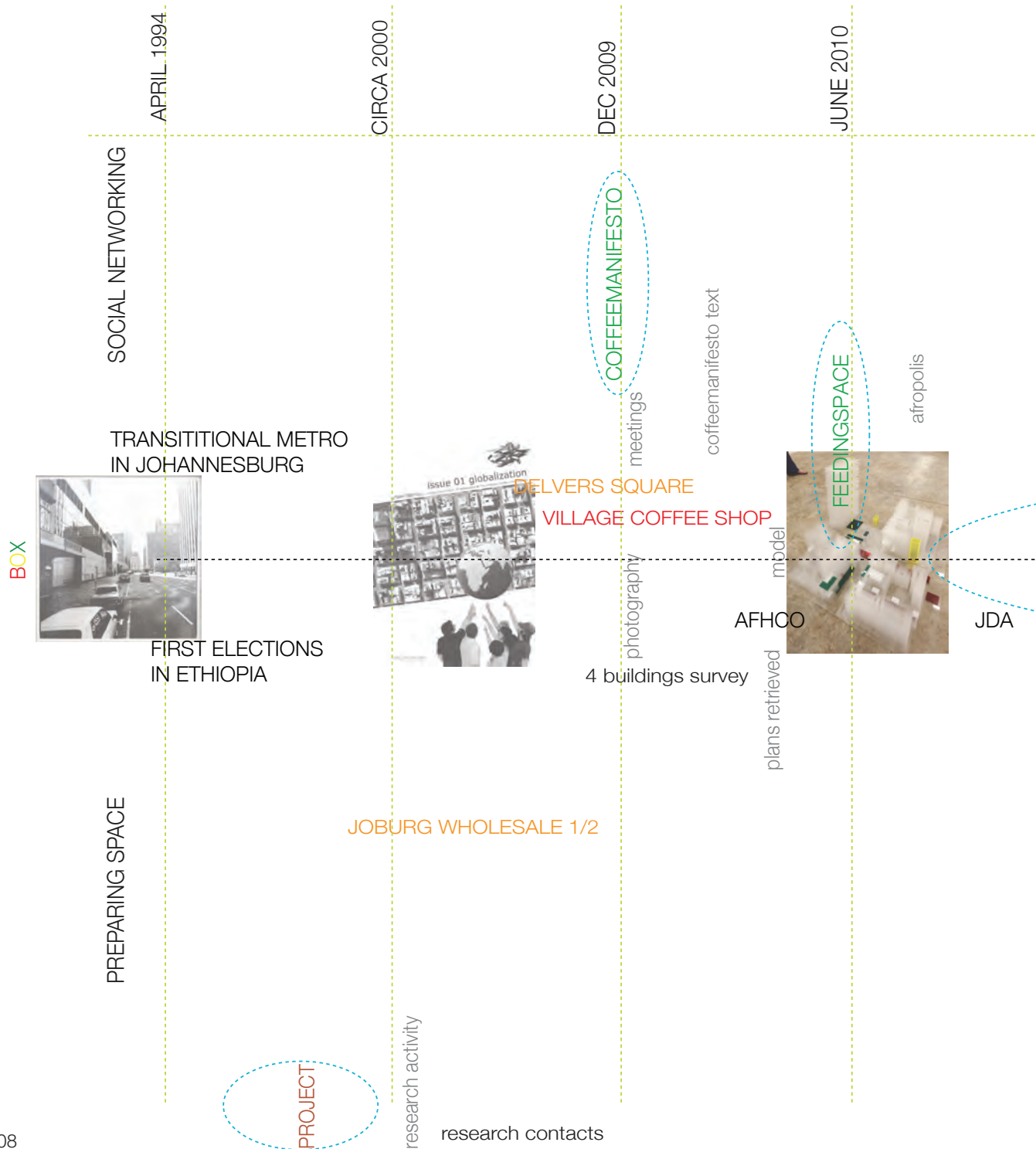
3. second round: engaging with coffee

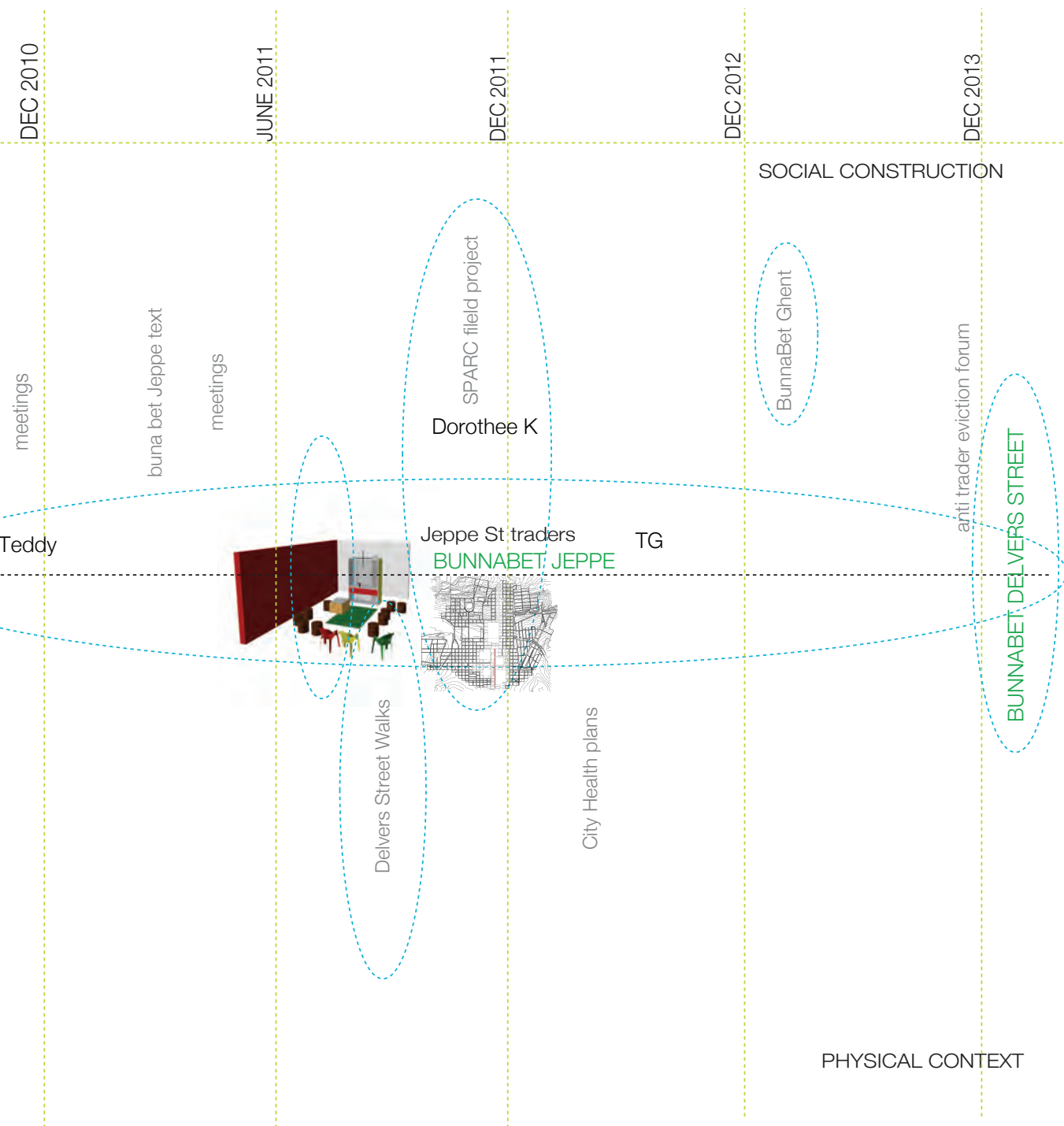
3.1 grounds for projects

Jeppe as phenomenon is not the same as Jeppe as project. My initial interest in the area was how it functioned as a model for urban renewal and not as a site for intervention per se. After all, Johannesburg is full of vacant buildings that present opportunities for designerly intervention (Propertuity, 2013, Johannesburg Development Agency, 2013). The gridded layout of the city creates a kind of generic porosity that is similar to other post-industrial cities, and links it to questions of intervention and images of potential resonant with many such sites including Detroit, former east Berlin, Cape Town's West City and so on (Christiaanse and Baum, 2013).

However, the unique and moving experience of the coffee ceremony linked this area, and me, to its social landscape. Meeting the women who prepare coffee and hearing their extraordinary stories of migration and ambition linked Jeppe to another set of concerns, both official ones relating to South Africa's immigration policies, and the personal bonds of friendship with other women. My identification with their struggles to find a point of entry in the city became the motivation for this project.

This focus on realising a project for an individual, while exploring the area at large, resulted in a vast split between two scales. The micro-projects that led up to the final BunnaBet Jeppe project work with the common objective of closing this gap through design of a probe that works between these scales.





3.2 coffeemanifesto (Wits, 2009)

In my first visit to the Joburg Mall *bunna bet*, I met TG, an Ethiopian immigrant who runs it along with her sister. In 2009, as a way to cross the distance between my research site and academic workplace, I commissioned TG to perform the coffee ceremony business during a conference in a prepared space in the university foyer. Three broad strategies from the inner city were used to produce the project: in physical terms, the physical installation used minimal means, including appropriation of this existing space; the authorship was participatory, in that it opened the physical installation to a second layer of authorship by TG and her interaction with conference goers; and lastly it was a temporal space, lasting in its entirety for the two mornings of the conference, being reconstructed on the second day, with a trace remaining afterwards in the photomontage left behind on the back wall.

The project was entitled *coffeemanifesto*, and presented as a work lying between research, design and social choreography. A photomontaged image of the *bunna bet* was put up on the wall behind TG's coffee stand. The stand, cups and equipment were brought by her, and she found palm fronds to lay on the floor. The found colours on the cups were translated to benches that I constructed and located in the niches outside the foyer. The benches in turn mirrored the material and layout of the conference seating within the building.

The core elements of the ceremony are the cups on the serving tray, the three elements that rotate onto the charcoal stove - coffee pot or *jebena*, bean roasting pan and snack roasting pan, and the elements that amplify the atmosphere of the ceremony, the fan, strewn grass and incense. These are supported by minimal infrastructure, usually just stools, low tables and a mat, as well as services to support washing of cups and grinding the beans. The centre of the ceremony is the coffee lady who works with the coffee itself. Men are unwilling to play this role, saying it is traditionally gendered as women's work. It is demanding work. The beans have to be cooked and ground, the coffee kept at the right temperature, the pouring has to be done from a height without spilling, and the serving is done graciously and quickly.

The presence of smoke, incense and roasted coffee in the foyer transformed the atmosphere of the conference event, and evoked strong reactions. One conversation dealt with an academic's concern over the rights of the women whose labour was on display in the foyer. Some people said it was the most memorable moment in the routine and space of the conference, and the security guard and students lamented the (involuntary) removal of the photomontage, some weeks later. In this way, *coffeemanifesto* confirmed the ambivalent power and fragility of reclaiming modernist space.

COFFEEMANIFESTO - PLAN





a



b



c

BUNNABET MATERIALS

1



2



3



4



a



b



c

3.3 feedingspace (Arts on Main 2010)

In 2010 I developed a new exhibition, *feedingspace*, for the arts space, Goethe on Main, in Maboneng, Johannesburg's latest cultural precinct. Elements from the coffeemanifesto event were reproduced and extended in this stand-alone project. I used the given area to present documentation and proposals and to host meetings and other activities scheduled during the six weeks duration of the show. The installation was complemented by documentation through photography, materials sampling, architectural drawings and model making. These two ways of knowing space overlapped in the construction, within the space, of a 1:20 scale model of Jeppe using the locally sources materials of boxes, straps, sacks and neon lights.

The final element in the exhibition was the sketching out of a programme for design work in the new forms of public space in the area. It categorised four types of such space, each with its own specific challenges of management and physical qualities. They are colour coded in the models and images, using the found colours of the coffee shop. Neutral or white space represents the restaurants and coffee shops; red represents horizontal passages; yellow represents vertical circulation and green represents terraces.

The exhibition explored the gallery space, installation and events as a metaphor for Jeppe. It captured a moment in the process of urban recycling, when certain conditions are in place. The first condition is that the space was emptied, left without any specified functions, as happened in Jeppe in the 1990's. At this moment, the city, not unlike the white box of the gallery, had tended towards a smooth and de-signified space. Into this came the investment of a new community, most likely one that imagined its presence there as temporary, and so set out urgently to make a place of it.

This kind of spatial occupation is immediate and ad-hoc, but also socially tuned. It involves working the crowd, scanning for changes and opportunities. There's a very specific kind of fit involved between the container of the space, its users, and the stuff that gets placed in between them. Set in a sort of theatre of trading, the goods in the Ethiopian area have to be shown, pushed, compared and negotiated with by a single player. At the same time their arrangement exploits the cubic dimensions of the spaces that are rented at extraordinary rates, using its capacity as a surface to support and display to the maximum effect. This support retains the qualities of the original grid, but uses intervening gridded surfaces, such as strip board, sheets of grooved white MDF that is laid horizontally to allow for little shelves or coat hangers to be slotted in. The new material supports the intersection of cartesian and embodied spaces. It lines tiny units, divided and redivided over time from the horizontal data of street canopies and floor plates.

In *feedingspace*'s installation, a few hundred boxes and sacks mirrored this capacity of the city's buildings to be broken down back to the scale of its' pre-modern grain. They literally mapped four blocks at a scale of around 1:20.

The horizontal data of box straps was projected across the spaces to the light shelves which try to smooth the room proportions and fill the leftover gap with glimpses of the gestural traces in the area.

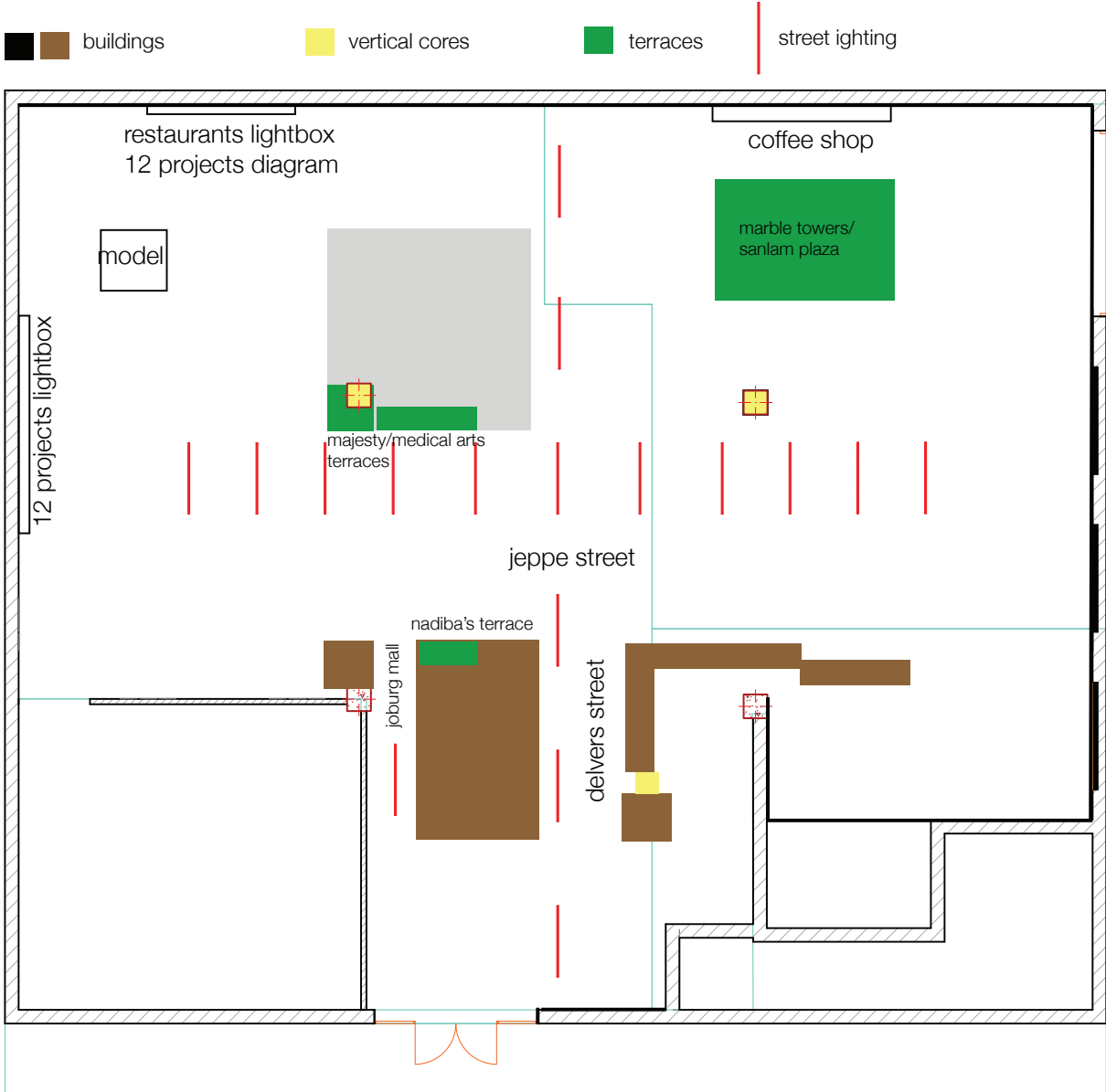
The lower level of the gallery, which corresponded in the mapping with the location of the unused sunken plaza at the foot of Marble Towers, was given over to the collaborative activities with the diaspora community. It contained a photomontage and ephemera from the *bunna bet* in Joburg Mall, the key reference for the notion of feedingspace. As the setting for the communal, openhanded sharing of coffee, found spaces such as this one serve to network the traders and their common knowledge of the city, its spaces and opportunities. It is these *bunna bets* that bring life back to the city, differently, not by replacing modernist tenancies but rather filling their voids through rhizomic arrangements of group deals and supply chains.

Over the course of the installation, feedingspace presented five small events. It also outlined, in discussion and sketches the twelve catalytic projects that I proposed for the area. However, rather than presenting the urban ideas directly, it mentioned them in passing within the tolerant, open space of the art event's dialogues. The exhibition intended to lure new audiences through the promise of exotic food, and to afford traders some access to the relatively wealthy community of Arts on Main and the Goethe Institute's community. These strategies aimed at breaking down ways of thinking about inner city renewal, using ways of working with inter-scales, between emergent immigrant community and the established commercial one.

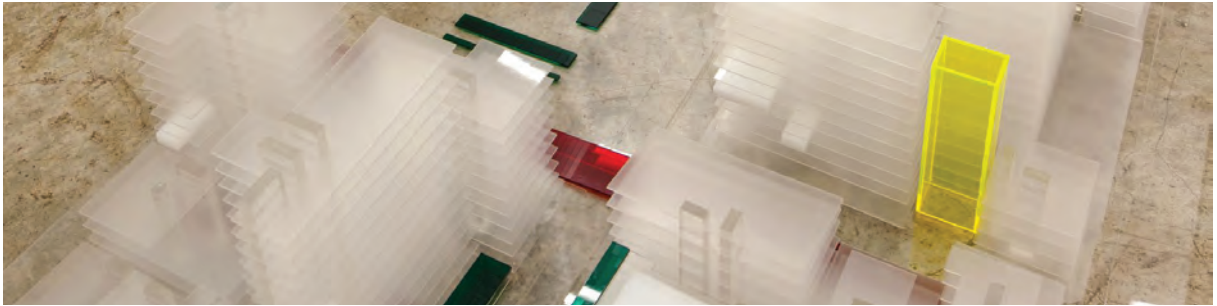
As a final, concrete proposal, the core elements of the mobile coffee shop were designed and tested in the duration of feedingspace. Available to visit any space where urban and organisational issues are being discussed, this unit was conceived to inaugurate outsiders into the Ethiopian coffee ceremony. This activity could introduce the idea of the inter-scalar, inter-cultural space of the *bunna bet* to new territories and communities³⁷.

³⁷ As a result of the exhibition, TG and Kassa, the Habesha chef who ran a cooking class, were invited to run food stalls at the weekly market in the precinct where the gallery is located. Kassa has gone on to establish a restaurant in the Maboneng area.

FEEDINGSPACE EXHIBITION, GOETHE ON MAIN - PLAN



FEEDINGSPACE EXHIBITION, GOETHE ON MAIN IMAGES



a



b



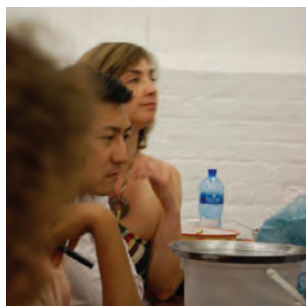
c

a



FEEDINGSPACE ETHIOPIAN COOKING LESSON

1



2



3



4



a

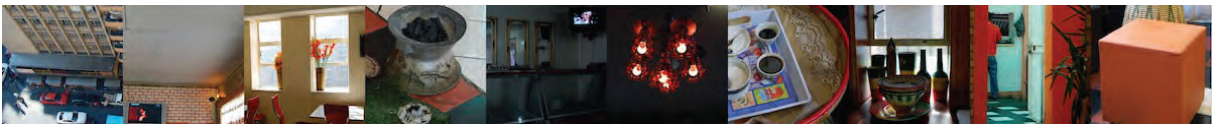


b

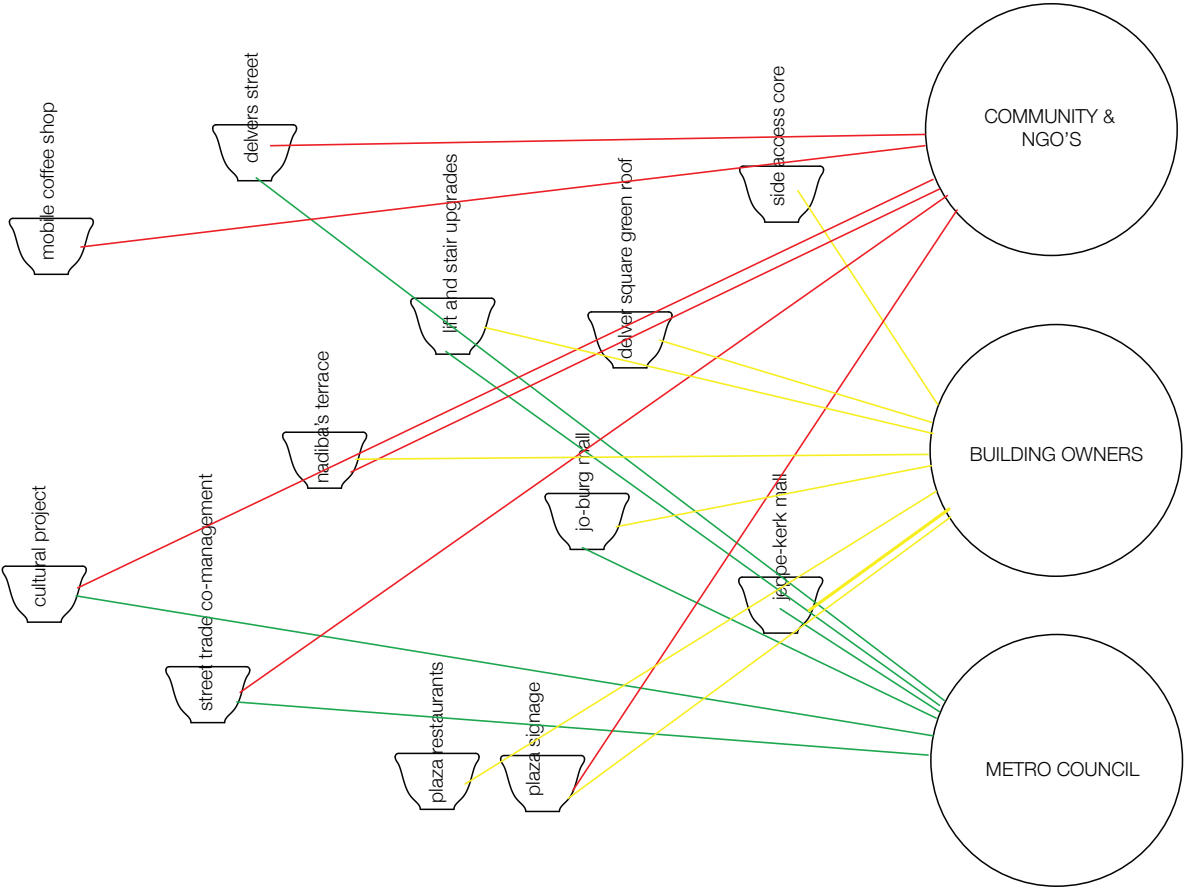


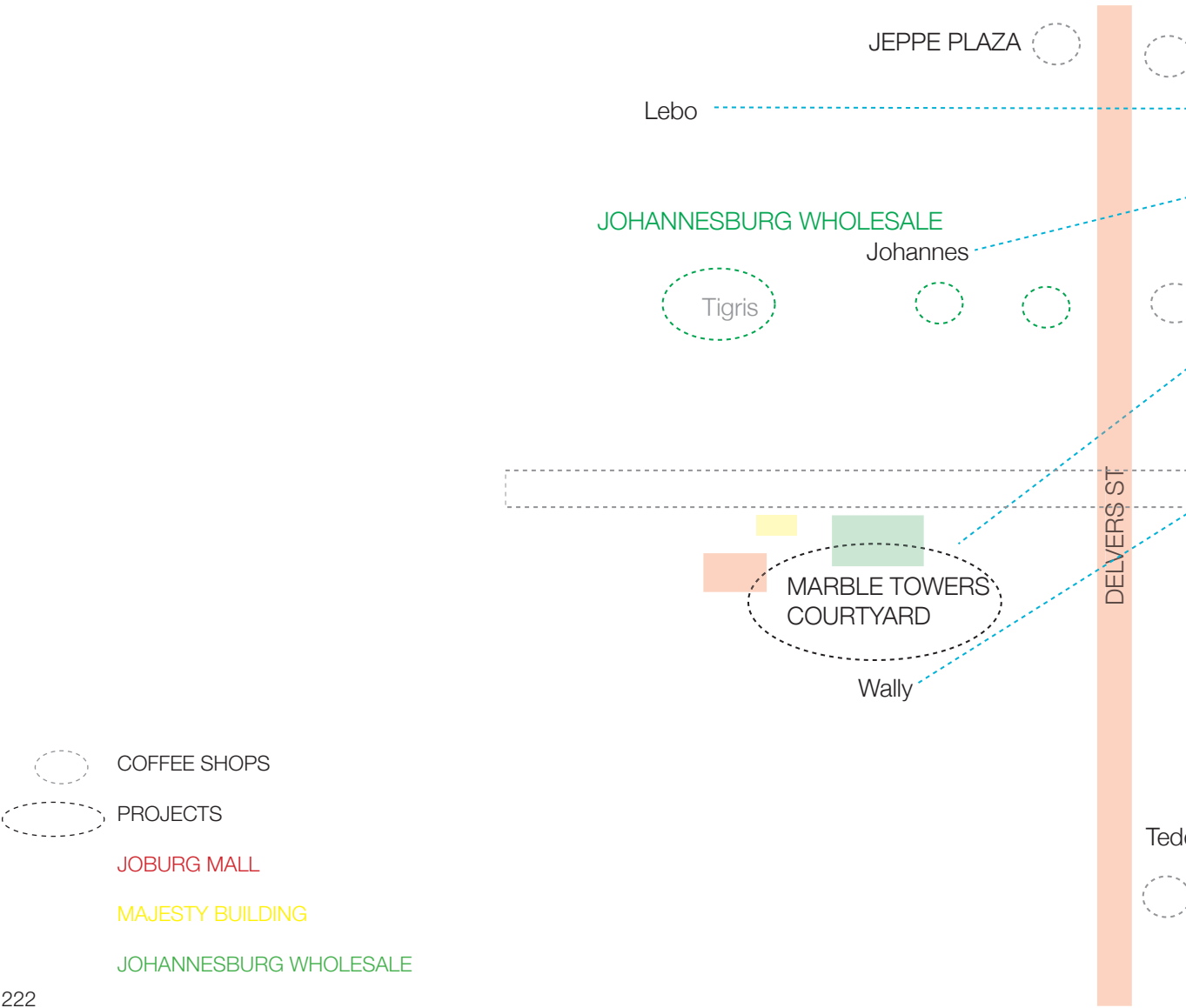
c

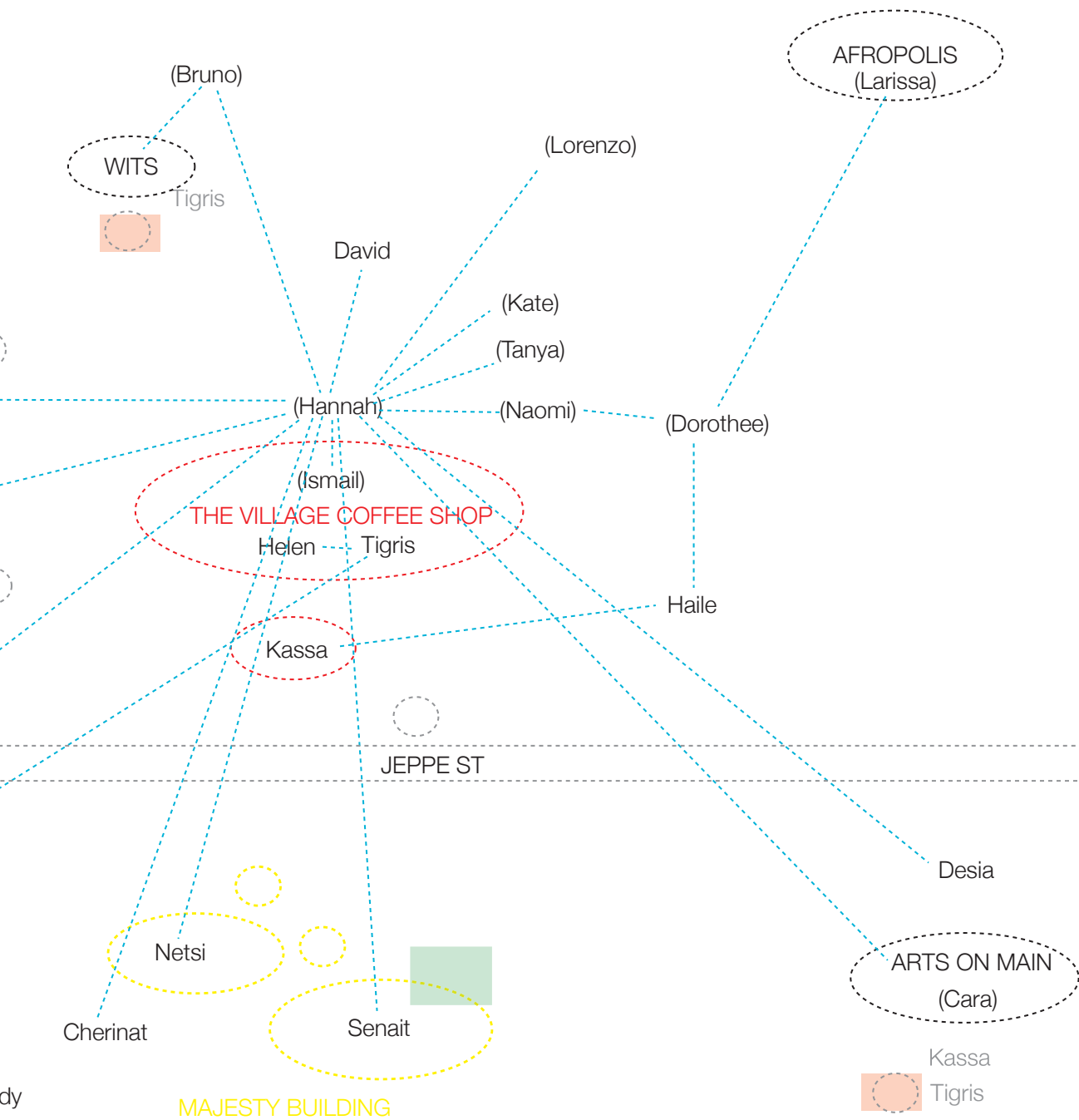
FEEDINGSPACE PHOTOESSAY



FEEDINGSPACE: TWELVE PROJECTS DIAGRAM





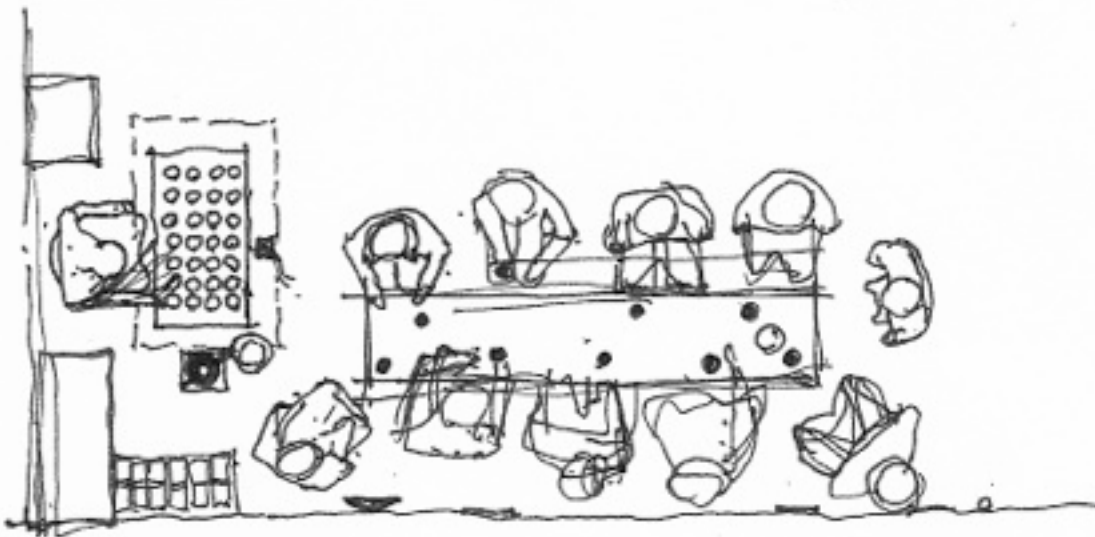


3.4 field office (SPARC 2011)

Understanding the spatiality of Jeppe seemed impossible without the collaboration of traders. By 2011, the creation of a meeting space between urban practitioners and the trader community had become the central programmatic element for my research. It appeared to suit everyone to use a coffee shop for this space. While the temporary shops of the conference and exhibition brought the urban practitioners closer to the Habesha practices, their location was inconvenient for traders whose exceptionally long hours of work kept them fixed between the places where they traded and slept.

Over the second half of 2011, I collaborated in a team tasked with locating a research base within a Jeppe coffee shop³⁸. This coincided with a taught research project on the area that looked at its spatial strategies in more depth (le Roux, 2012). The first local presentation of our research project took place at Intermission, an artists space on the edge of Jeppe, but few of the traders attended. The next approach was to use an existing coffee shop in the Bimo Building, which is in the heart of the area for meetings and to establish an ongoing point of contact with community members. But few traders were willing to meet us in this open venue.

below: *bunna bet* as space for discussion, 2011.



³⁸ This work was funded by the University of the Witwatersrand's Strategic Planning and Research Committee and involved participants from the Street Law Programme and the School of Arts.

What unfolded over 2011 was that the trader community was very sensitive about our research³⁹. The few meetings that I had with traders were run on condition that they remained anonymous, and would say little of their business practices. But a vague picture emerged of a striated and secretive trading network that kept a high level of control of some supply chains, particularly those involving the fake branded goods sold in the area. Due to the illegality of these goods, which were being monitored and controlled by police and customs officials with increasing numbers of raids on their distributors, the chains of supply were kept secret. The raids on the area were also difficult to pin down to any transparent strategy. One anonymous official told me that the area was under surveillance with close circuit cameras and that the copyright lawyers for the global brands were monitoring it alongside the police. The raids, he implied, were carried out on their behalf.

After six months of attempts to engage with these communities in a direct way, I withdrew from this approach of institutional contact. I had come to feel that I knew enough, and that the secrets of the area were not to be revealed without open agreement. The intelligence of the coffee lady's agency, as she hosted discussions that happened under the guise of informal encounters, and fueled their efficacy, but remained quietly in the background, became ever more obvious.

³⁹ Unfounded rumours had been spread that linked us to the international company, Walmart, that was investing in wholesale businesses at the time. My university, it was said, was being paid to investigate the business secrets of the Jeppe traders (anonymous interviews, 2011).

JEPPE FIELDWORK LOCATIONS, 2011

transport

Senait

Joburg Mall

Intermission
Gallery

BUNNABET
JEPPE

Jeppe Street

retail and manufacture

transport

banking

social housing

transport



0 100m 200m

MEETING SPACE VENUES

FOOTWORK

DELVERS STREET, LOOKING SOUTH



3.5 Delters street walks (2011-2012)

Jeppe's epicentre is the crossroads of Jeppe and Delters street. From 2011 to 2012, along with different groups of visiting urbanists, photographers, curious friends and students, I led walks into the adjacent area of the city. The walks came about through the curiosity of Johannesburg residents and visitors to see the post-apartheid changes in the inner city, and the repeated visits to a specific area allowed me a layered understanding of what was happening. This horizontal plane of exploration gave some respite from the tension around the earlier research into Jeppe's vertical and commercial arrangements. Understanding the Jeppe trader community's linkages with, and its disconnects from the broader city became a counter-project to that of understanding its internal structure.

The city walks focussed on a single strip, the 1km length of Delters Street. Running south to north from the mining belt to the end of the original gridded city area, this street lies on the eastern boundary of the City Improvement District. It bisects the precinct of one of the city's three major banks. At the same time, it was extensively occupied by street traders, sometimes overlapping with these zones. Walking Delters Street, we encountered a full range of urban actors and ways of life, economies and goods. The tidy linearity of the narrow street and its proportions presented a physical order that was punctuated by the extraordinary moments unfolding at points along the street.

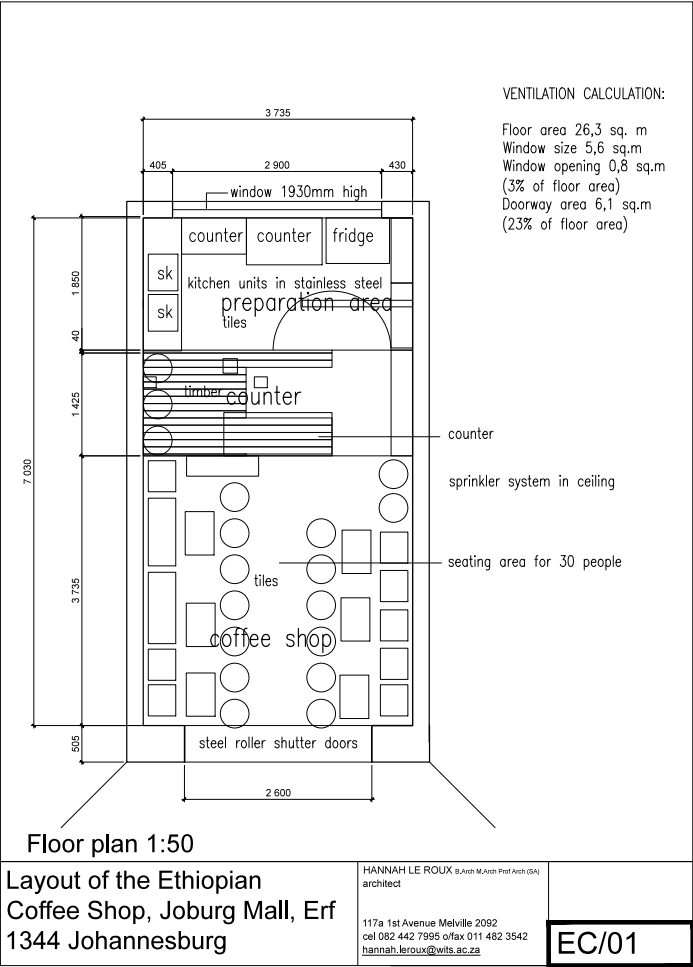
These walks suggested that Jeppe might benefit from linkages to its southern hinterland along this route. It could create a future for the area that is not tied only to hawker retail, but also connected to office workers, residential areas and independent manufacturers. Delters Street as a safe linear route would create an alternative orientation for Jeppe, an urban extension that could come about through negotiation across the precincts of the city.

The northern end of Delters Street has two qualities that lend it to becoming more than a route. The first is its fluctuation between route and place. One narrative about the area's formation is that, following the murder of a trader in a robbery, the traders met in this section of the road to form a self-defense committee (H, 2009). The second quality is the strange kink in the grid at the northern end, the consequence of a surveying error in Johannesburg's layout. As a result Delters Street ends in a T junction with Bree, and the facade of the Bimo building which provides a backdrop to this last block and potentially, a point of surveillance down the street.

The street walks started with a coffee and a walk to the rooftop of the Bimo building, using it as a still point of orientation down the length of Delters to the mine tailings dumps in the distance. This potential for a visual pause in the city is parallel to the pause space provided in the *bunna bets*.

3.6 City Health (2012)

In 2012, TG called me to get help with a problem that had arisen at her *bunna bet* in the Joburg Mall. There had been an official raid, which was to be the first of several. She had been served a warning by an inspector from the City Health Department that, without a certificate of compliance with their bye-laws, she would have to close her *bunna bet*. We met to discuss the consequences of compliance with these laws. Fortunately there was little that really needed to be done other than to submit a plan and registration fee. I measured the shop and prepared a plan that showed the location of the separated cooking and seating areas, and quantified ventilation and light sources. This drawing was submitted to the City who issued her with the certificate. The small changes to the layout were carried out without my involvement.



left: Health certificate plan, 2012

3.7 summary: extraction

The rounds of engagement with Jeppe's communities and spaces came to form a picture of the area that translates, through a further layer of representation, into a design strategy. Jeppe, it became clear, is not designed from the outside. Nonetheless the physicality of the grid, the buildings and the available openings has a lucid quality that comes to be read in similar ways by multiple people. At the same time, the way people operate in Jeppe also came to have a specific pattern. A fair amount of becoming invisible is necessary, but so is a degree of stubbornness in the face of a hostile regime of governance.

Jeppe is a critical part of the city. It represents the extraordinary potentials for economic growth in Johannesburg when diaspora, Asian and local African communities interact across borders. For this reason, it is also threatening to a status quo of business and government interests dating back to the apartheid era. Picking on small traders in Jeppe is a way of controlling and keeping this economy marginalised and bounded.

Making Jeppe a "proper" part of the city would entail moving from observation and tentative engagement with this area to a more bold strategy. Towards such an end, it has been necessary to consider the potential of a designerly intervention in relation to its practices. The presence of illegal business practices, specifically the sale of fake goods in Jeppe continues to render it vulnerable to punitive raids, but it also lies behind the low cost of goods traded there. The lack of official plans for buildings makes them non-compliant with important regulations, of which fire safety is a critical one, especially given the hugely increased number of users in the buildings since their design. The loading of fabrics in the upper levels of highly trafficked buildings is another concern, as these structures were never designed to take massive dead loads. The deterioration of the concrete structures is also potentially fatal.

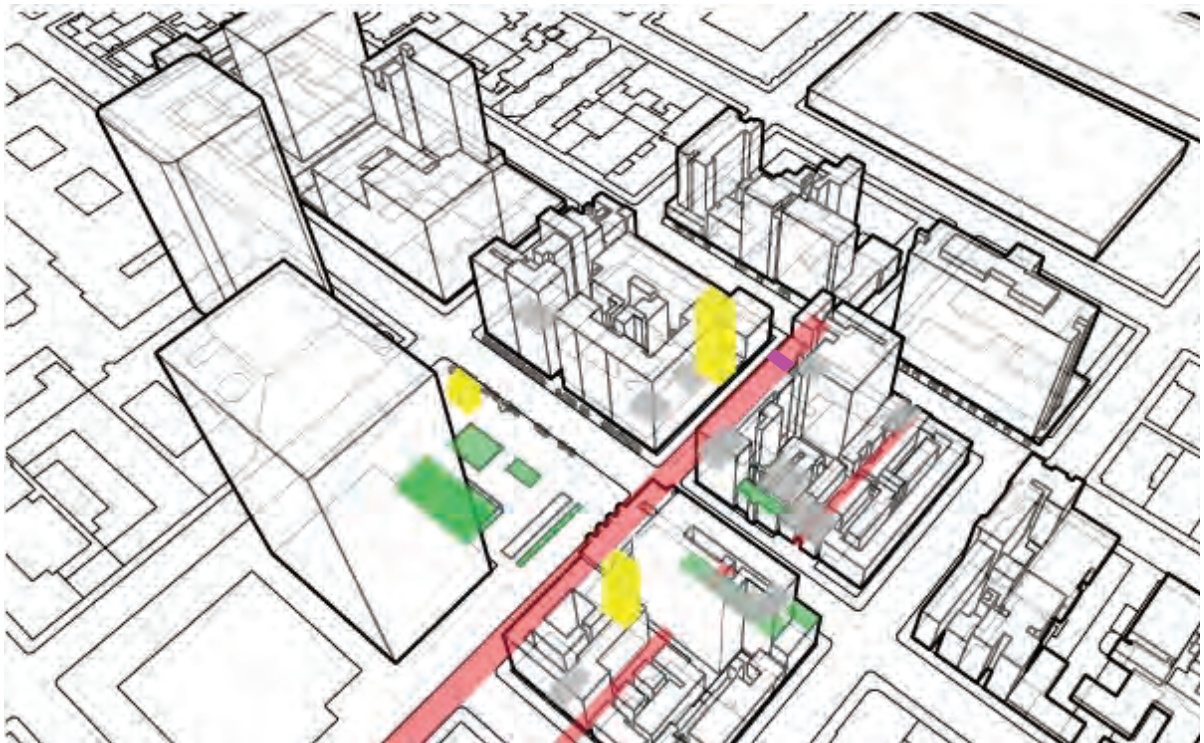
The police raids that took place in 2013, removing all the street traders, under the guise of urban cleansing, intensified the need for a simultaneous spatial and social project in Jeppe. In the hiatus since then, despite a court victory affirming the traders' rights to public spaces, the need for mutual information flows between city and traders is more urgent than ever. In the final iteration of my work on Jeppe, I combined the observational and representational work with a didactic project. Unable to take sides in the polarised battle over the area, intervention only seemed possible through a design that serves to fuel a discussion, revealing to each side what they choose not to recognise.

CODING JEPPE

BUNNABET JEPPE

KEY:

Bunna Bet
horizontal circulation
vertical circulation
green terraces
existing restaurants



NEW BUNNABET, BIMO BUILDING, IN 2012





4. third round: BunnaBet Jeppe (2011)

4.1 talking about coffee

In a *bunna bet*, talk is interspersed with silence and reflection. The coffee maker, who works between the table of empty cups, the fuel of the fire and the *bunna* and incense that permeate the room, alternates visual checks and the gestures of serving. She prepares this space to support interaction, fuels these encounters with caffeine, and creates a place like home. Her labour links it to Ethiopia. In Jeppe.

In Jeppe, four city blocks condense the energy of the city and its flows into a sort of substance that is an intensification of its essential exchanges, moralities and demographics. The *bunna bet* presents a quiet moment in this urban swirl. You stumble out from a world of silent tasting, abuzz with caffeine, onto streets infused with visual and aural energy. Sound systems and bright displays of clothes and mannequins compete for the attention of customers. Customers and porters squeeze through the space between pavement stalls and shopfronts, lugging parcels of goods from vans or to the taxi ranks and stations to the north.

Since the first visit to this *bunna bet* in Joburg Mall, above Bree Street, I have been back to Jeppe quite often and never found it the same. The density and mood on the street fluctuates in response to the supply of goods and the threats of raids. New *bunna bets* come and go. The area grows, block by block. Moving upwards and inwards from the pavement, outwards from the intersection of Jeppe and Delvers streets, and into every lost space within the densest areas, Jeppe is closer to an organism than a place. People produce this space through gestures and negotiations that revolve around the materiality of the buildings and the packs of goods that they trade, as well as the immaterial connections that are the trail of their translocated lives and assets.

Jeppe has convinced me and others of the inadequacy of the ways we describe and work in the city (Farouk, 2009, Zack, 2011a, Roux in Pinther et al., 2010, Pfreunder and Karama, 2011). From time to time I climb up, to rooftops and through the medium of mapping, to observe and outline the area. But more frequently I get lost in its interior, seeking contact with people beyond the thresholds of its thick commercial edge. The warmth of some of my *bunna bet* encounters, and the pointed lack of invitations to share coffee with others points to the importance of this place in framing the discussion and re-imagining of urban life. The *bunna bet* gives one a taste of connectivity as a form of urban currency, something offered, negotiated or refused in an ongoing strategic positioning.

Jeppe is liminal, a connection zone at social and physical scales. It sits between the inner city's CID and its unregulated eastern fringe of tenement housing, taxi ranks and post-industrial voids. As a self managed area and through the premium put on rentals, it offers the CID and its adjacent landowners a sort of breathing space. Jeppe

allows the time and physical buffer for the city to enact its plans for upgrading without confronting the threats posed by the absolute urban informality of its outer fringes. Jeppe is, in Yichtafel's use of the term (2009), a gray zone, held up as a space with potential for formalization but remaining outside of a legislated framework to achieve this state.

In its location, its functioning and at an entirely personal level, in the bureaucratically liminal identities of its traders, Jeppe lies on the edge of the city's logic. For those who can't make it past the barriers to full refugee or residency status, it offers a place of limbo that lies between Johannesburg's great opportunities and risks. The interactions between traders, craftsmen and investors that form it have been set up with ingenuity, crossing lines between formal and informal, planned and spontaneous, below and above board. As a collectively conceptualised place, Jeppe is a strategic *tour de force* that responds with huge intelligence to Johannesburg's broader dynamics.

I've held on to the *bunna bet* as an analogy for Jeppe in all its dimensions. As my entry point to the area it remains the still point from which to negotiate the physical, social and conceptual flux thrown up by Jeppe. A *bunna bet* is a space within a space, but one made by logics different to those that formed its shell. It can be unhinged from its setting, remade elsewhere, or it can work as a catalyst to transformations beyond its frame. Unpacking this space as reference, I hope to evoke through it an image of spatial life that bonds physical and ephemeral processes, support and agency, localised and globalised practices. In this way, the *bunna bet* reopens as a venue for the comprehension of urban change, and perhaps, through that, to a shared investment in its processes and spaces.

The *bunna bet* as analogy can be unpacked into a number of elemental pieces. An infill typology, its elements are framed by generic (and voided) modernist space. The transformation of this space happens through the ongoing agency of the coffee shop lady. Her presence is almost silent, but critical to the invention and maintenance of the *bunna bet*. The shop layout changes with time, but her own location behind the table of cups is always oriented to survey the clientele and to choreograph their space and movement. The tray of cups is a platform of availabilities to be distributed in the room at large, their handing out and collection a constant circulatory rhythm. Her gestures in preparing the coffee beans, heating the *jebena* and pouring the coffee into cups are a set of actions that are repeated over and again, but she uses the time to consider options and rearrangements.

The pouring tray follows two possible patterns; a traditional circular shape or the modern rectangular one, that locates the cups in a grid. Cups come in boxes of dozens. Even, but divisible into odd groups. To extend the analogy, if the tray is the grid of the city, the cups represent (and in their passing out and collection) the fluid relationships between traders, passed out through a sort of pattern and consensus. In detail, each cup is branded, more often than not in the national colours of Ethiopia. The flag reinforces a sense of nostalgia, but also offers up a concrete representation of an identity distilled in the act of lifting a cup, through the medium of colour. Red at the base, yellow

in the middle band, and green at the top. The colours are said to represent essences, the red being power or blood, the yellow harmony and encounter, and the green, land.

To focus on Jeppe, I have held on to this detail. The concrete language of its form and colours provides a medium for a wider interpretation. Somewhere, between the micro-scale of the cup, in its intense distillation of translocated meanings through the fragile language of gesture, and the inexhaustable, complex layers of the city-scale, there is a designerly scale that uses the *bunna bet* and its elements as a way of reading and rewriting Jeppe. Its urban cultures as ritual, its buildings as cup: each band of colour mirrors the qualities of the urban context, in its mix of flows, connectivity and porosity.

4.2 red

Jeppe grows from and intensifies flows of money, goods and people. The one- or two thousand diaspora traders are themselves in transit, imagining themselves *en route* elsewhere, maybe to the United States or back home. Their job is to enter in and manage the area's flux. Jeppe is busy seven days a week, with a brief respite on Sunday afternoon. The turnover of spaces is intense, with key money paid to ensure the stability of a shop's location for two or three years. This capitalisation of tenure is new to Johannesburg, replacing the custom of a deposit with the payment of a large cash amount to set up shop. The payment puts more cash into circulation, so lending power to the collective buying arrangements that the traders make with their Asian and Middle Eastern suppliers.

In the longest occupied buildings where rental agreements predated key money arrangements, traders risk eviction at any time, as shops are sub-divided and rented to more, smaller stalls. The dislocation of goods storage is part of this transformation of the street to a showroom. The stock, once held in the store back, moves to upstairs rooms, and more lately, to areas outside of the district. The spaces adjacent to the street as the closest visual interface between customers and salesmen are the most precious, and rented out at shockingly high prices. As a result, the street's envelope has been extended in a fractal pattern, gaining ever more surface as storefronts give way to niches within niches. Yet even this fractalisation is insufficient to meet the demand for display and contact.

The display surface extents right into the blocks of the city. In Joburg Mall, some time after 2005, a thick route was carved and constructed between Bree and Jeppe streets, joining the back of a building with a vacant site that was then built up to mirror the other half. It reinvents the arcade form that was part of early Johannesburg, but at four levels, with shops in the basement, ground and first floors, and numerous restaurants and services on the uppermost level.

An overlay of mobile shops and trolleys creates further friction between people and goods. Fruit is brought from the City Deep market and sold from the back of trucks, straight into cartons and onto heads. The traders are also served with mobile services from tea and coffee carts, and *injeera* deliveries. On Jeppe and Delters, round the end of day, bargain clothes are sold straight out of boxes. By then, the hawker-customers are dwindling, following their goods to the stations and taxi ranks, ported by the trolley pushers who pick up work from street corners. And flowing through all this is cash in quantity, carefully reinvested in further stock, in forex, in new vehicles, in security, and in acquiring and fitting out new spaces.

4.3 yellow

The flows and the connectivity of Jeppe intersect at its lift lobbies. While almost everywhere else on the city streets, retail hugs the ground plane, here, the retail trade extends into vertical relationships with storage, manufacture, service shops and the social spaces of the restaurants. The crux is that, in Jeppe, the lifts are maintained. The intensity of horizontal movement is balanced with vertical systems. Traders send stock up to the fourth or fifth floors and beyond and fetch it on demand.

Small scale manufacturing happens between these levels. Despite or because of the collapse of the city's formal garment industry in the 1980's, there are hundreds of tailors at work producing soft furnishings and traditional clothes for rural and township homes. Jeppe's specialities are bespoke drops of gilded voile curtains, and *tshwetshwe*⁴⁰ pinafores. In a vertical collaboration, ground floor shops will sell the drops made up by tailors higher up in the building, using fabrics imported by a third party and stored still higher. In another arrangement, tailors from Southern Africa, salesmen from Ethiopian and fabrics sourced in China share third floor shops. In Majesty, a small team of men working in one room produce the leather and fur sandals sold at street level.

This vertical mobility links the upper levels of buildings, scattered with restaurants, as well as internet cafes, culture shops, travel agencies, bridal boutiques and hairdressers, making it entirely possible to organise a transnational business and personal life without leaving the building. In three buildings, residential space has been converted to retail use. Although the typological arrangements differ, the new arrangements seem to hybridize Asian high-rise malls with African street retail patterns within the limits of the concrete frame of 1960's high-rises.

4.4 green

The overwhelming density at street level is balanced with a surprising porosity at the back and tops of buildings. Jeppe's central green space may lie just outside of its boundary, but its presence is pivotal in its development. The

⁴⁰ Tshwetshwe is the local name for Dutch print cotton fabric which is popular for women's clothing.

plaza and sunken gardens of Marble Towers, cut off from Jeppe and Delvers streets with a palisade fence and security guards, is both urban landmark and threshold. The tower block and garden offer a backdrop for the street photographers who work on the corner of Delvers and Jeppe, generating a stream of images of place that identify this corner with urban arrivals. The plaza has more permanent occupations that also support this threshold function. The setback of the 1970's block provides a pause in the density of the older city fabric and has allowed, in the generous pavement space, for the establishment of quite diverse but interlinked micro-businesses. A "plate" street food shop coexists with the arrival point for the Maputo taxi, braiders with the photographers, and bag sellers with trolley pushers and the trade in the area at large.

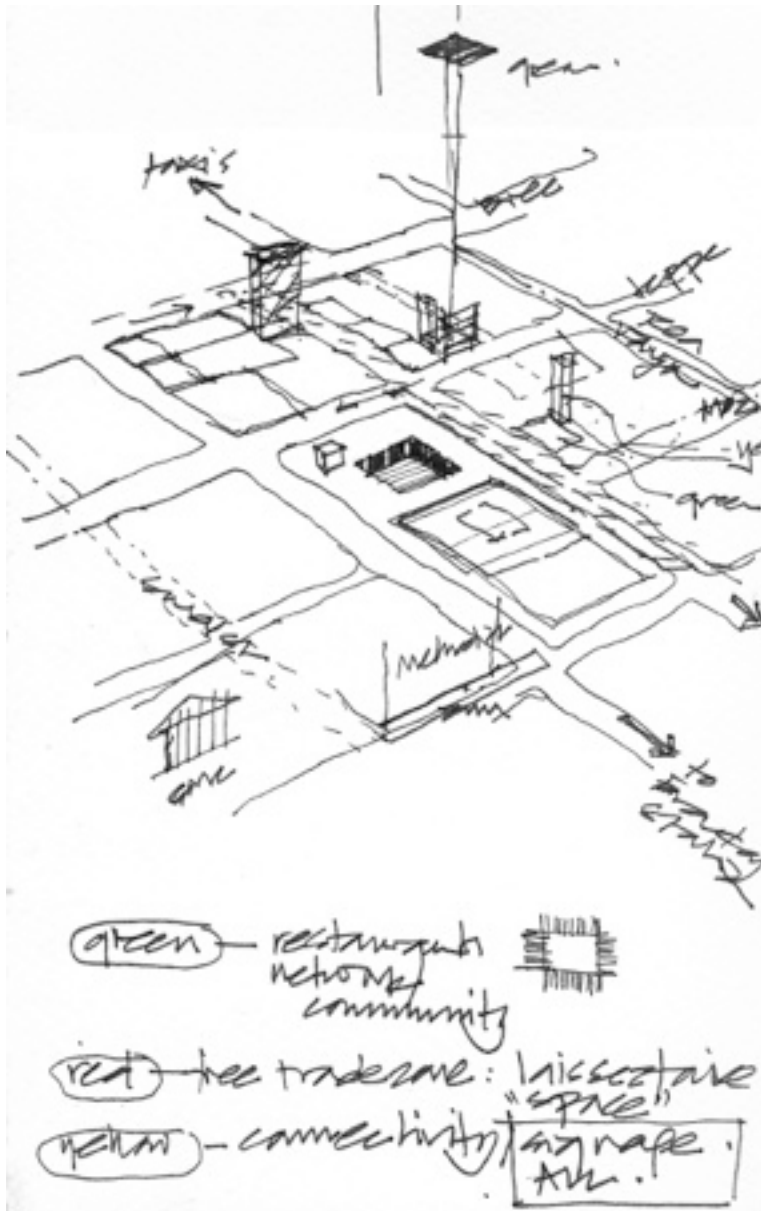
The supply of open space in Jeppe is supported by the physical vacancies on the earlier modernist buildings which are characterised by blank side facades, flat roofs and plinths. This architectural language is open to an imaginative appropriation that sometimes begins with an ephemeral action, like the shade cloth and sofas set out on Nadiba's rooftop, since replaced with more permanent shelter. In Majesty, Delver Square, and Africa Mall, in similar ways, the developers of Jeppe have connected lost space into the area's tissue by extending restaurants onto the first floor plinth slabs. These points of porosity, the consequences of a forgotten design style, become opportunities for re-design, for further experiments in urban type. Hinged to these horizontal extensions of the pavement, slab and roof, the vertical surfaces of buildings also become available for recoding through multiple scales of signage. As the shop facades become lateral displays to the street, so the model on the huge FUBU billboard, put up to flaunt her body to Jeppe Street in 2010, acknowledges the street as a plaza. As the eyes of the young men who flank the street turned to this beauty, the inversion of urban space seemed complete, the existing building a mere lining of this complicit, appropriated and lived place called Jeppe.

4.5 cup to tray

To return to the *bunna bet*: over time, I've gone from being a visitor here to its ad-hoc architect. Called on to advise on public health issues, unfair lease agreements, branding and alternative locations, I have been exposed to the very fragile conditions under which the space continues to operate. While the micro-techne of the coffee ceremony requires great skill, and the macro-context of Jeppe remains beyond my control, at a scale between them, my architect's knowledge seems to offer some value to the coffee lady. Giving advice to her involves moving between the scales of lived and conceived space. It involves being open to both material and cultural difference, to try to re-imagine spaces within and beyond the grid of the city and its structure, and to propose other rituals of use. And it involves emerging beyond that to reconnecting both these aspects of design to the city.

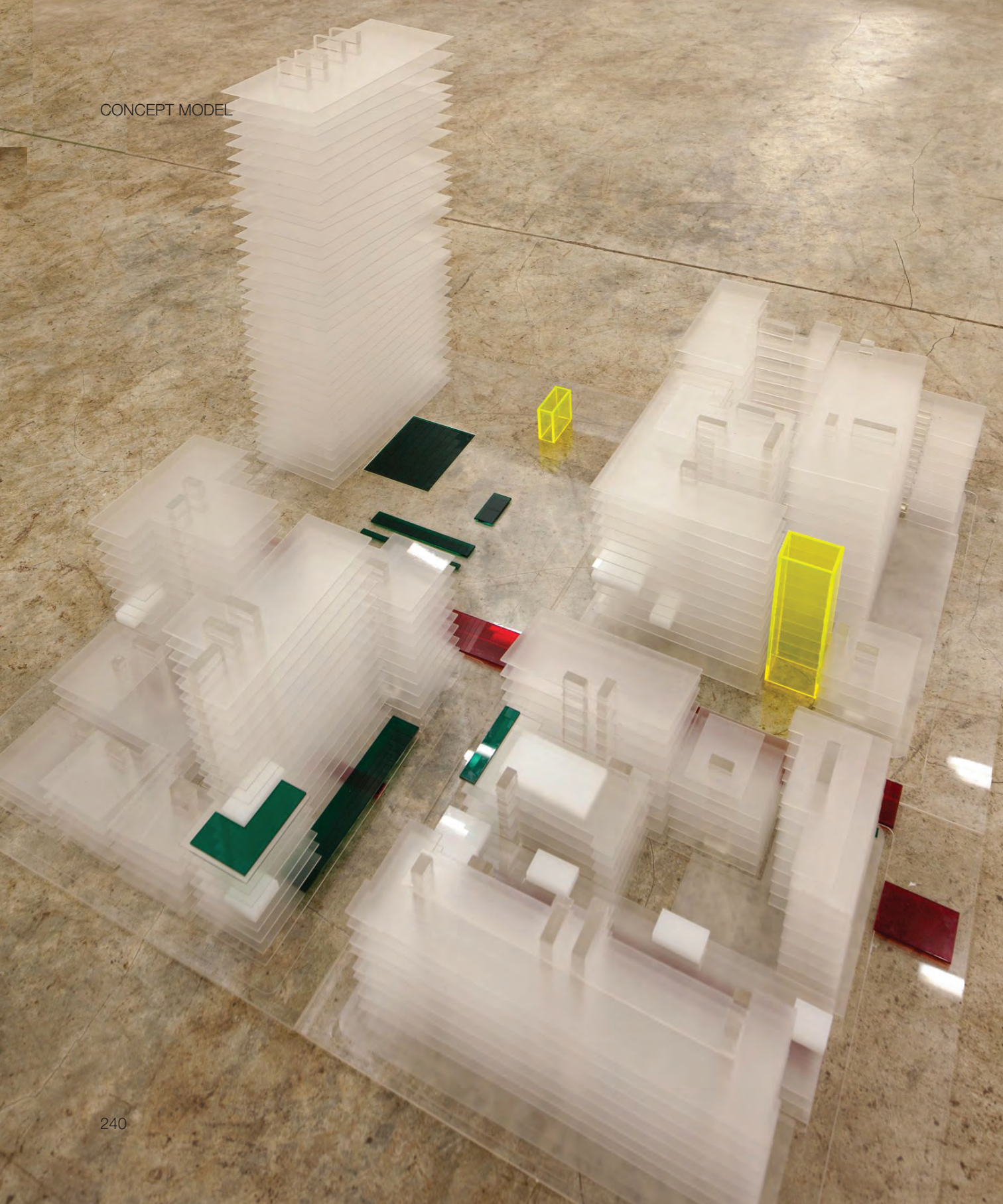
Jeppe as *bunna bet* interprets the built legacy of modernism as a receptacle, not only as an obstacle. It does so by treating architecture strategically. Shaped by their own experiences of change and migration, the diaspora

communities of Jeppe have found ways of being there that are fluid and highly productive. By spotting and appropriating this part of town they have demonstrated how, by virtue of its material nature, all spatial form is ambivalent and so open to processes of inversion and subversion that can turn exclusion on its head. The discussion to continue with them, over coffee, is how to work between scales, tiny and macro, and between forms of space, built and lived, to transfer such flexibility into all visions of urban change.



left: BunnaBet napkin sketch, 2010

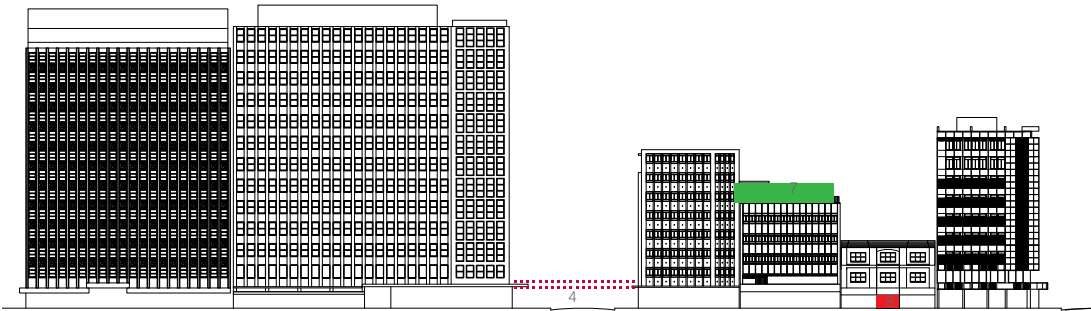
CONCEPT MODEL



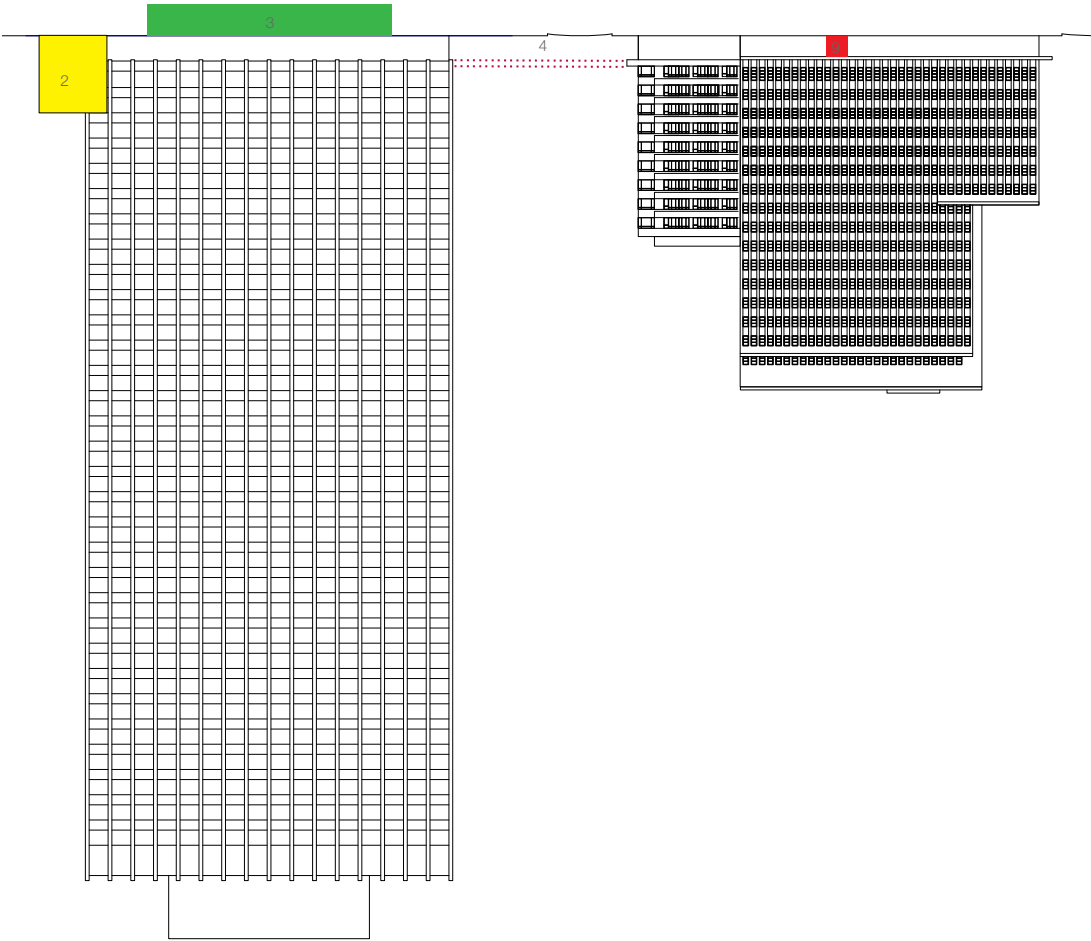
CODING JEPPE: PLAN

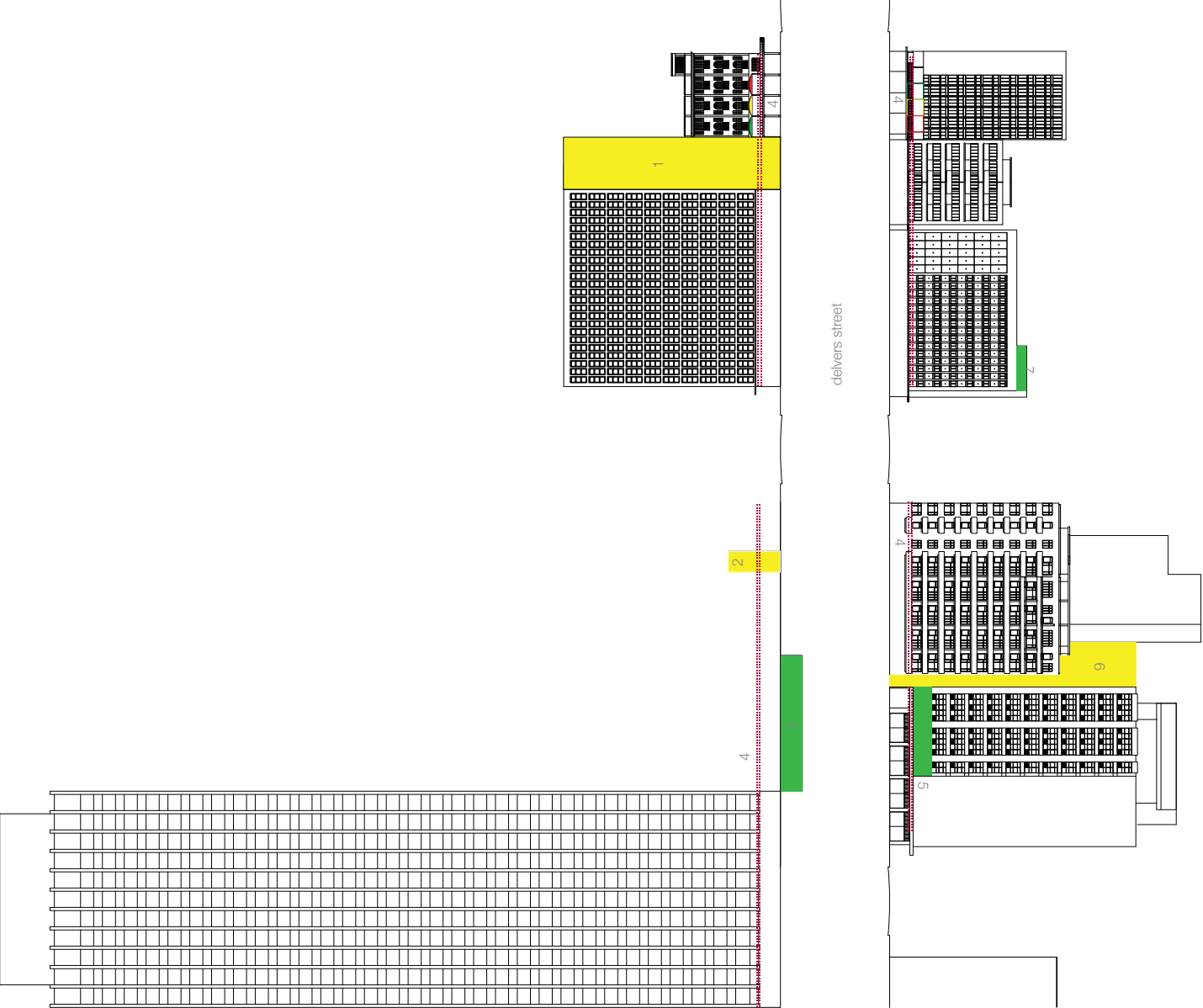


CODING JEPPE: JEPPE STREET ELEVATIONS

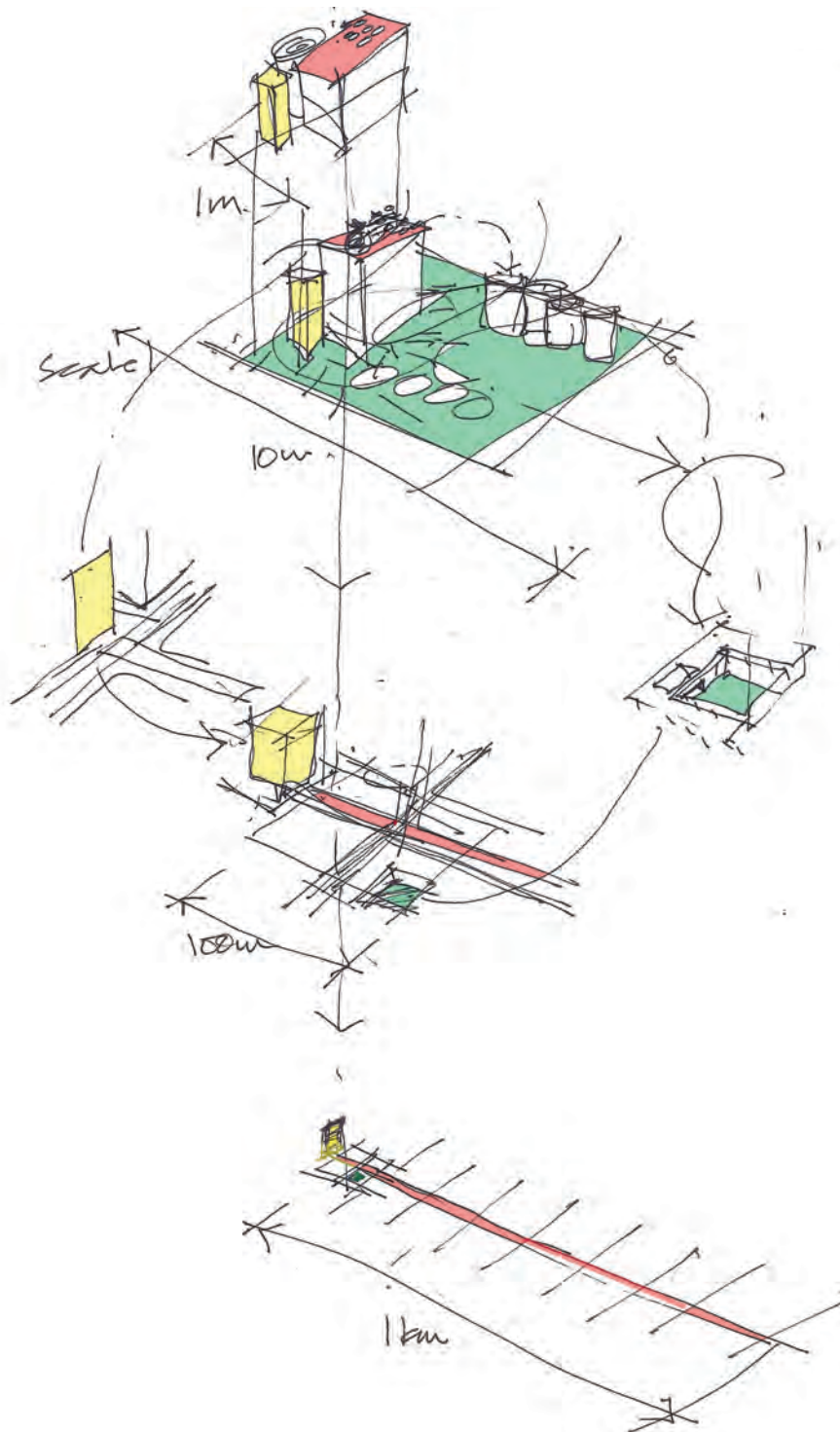


jeppe street





SCALING CONCEPT



5. BunnaBet diaspora

5.1 the coffeeshop programme

The intervention of the BunnaBet Jeppe is designed to operate at multiple scales. Taking its cue from the individual narratives of success in the area, from tiny, hand held businesses to the management of trading networks, it starts small but aspires to growth. The design is for a coffee shop that could grow to become an urban forum for Jeppe, as well as replicate at other critical sites engaged with immigration. The artefacts that make up the shop are both the objects of design and elements that represent the formal qualities of their surroundings. The relationships that the shop is designed to support are also scaleable, from one to one encounters with difference to public encounters across city precincts.

The design draws from the observation that the coffee ceremony, which relies on repeated gestural forms, is by nature a didactic setting. It produces and communicates bodily relationships, between individuals and between them and an imagined community. The coffee ceremony is also a catalytic setting, that organises a geographic hinterland through these coffee shop relationships. At the same time, it is a critical setting in that it embeds indigenous African practices into the late modernist city, so resisting the temporal and spatial homogeneity of its surroundings.

I imagine the BunnaBet Jeppe as a place for dialogue, in the face of Johannesburg's current standoffs between its policing wings and its small traders and immigrant communities. The coffee shop represents the positive face of cosmopolitanism in that it vividly communicates the enriching potentials of exchange between cultures in Africa. In this way it can operate as positive image of urban change that serves the City's mission to appear progressive towards this hinterland.

It can further act as a place for orientation towards the physical environment of Jeppe, and particularly towards the necessary acts of rehabilitation that would allow for buildings to be inhabited safely. The coffee shop is therefore also conceived as an act of mapping and representing the points at which Jeppe requires urgent attention: its building structures, their fire escapes, the open and green areas at all levels, and the circulatory networks around it. As a representation of Jeppe, its BunnaBet is a distillation of its physical features to a minimum, and an amplification of its distinctive social and cultural act, designed within the constraints of a portability.

5.2 scaling the box

"They unselfconsciously seek to expand the scale of self-centered control and at the same time contract the scale of official control. They promise not just the production of space in the abstract, but

the concrete production and reproduction of geographical scale as a political strategy of resistance.” (Smith, 1992:60)

The capacity for scalability is the first strategy in the design of BunnaBet Jeppe. This aspect comes directly from discussions with its real and imagined user, TG, who is able to create a coffee ceremony in any place but who aspires to a bigger business. It overlaps with the critical potentials of scaling, whereby small actions are extended to critique the abstract scale that the city's management tries to reproduce. My response to both the ease and difficulties of this ambition has been to imagine which elements continue to represent the scale of the traditional ceremony, even at larger sites.

The project is executed at a 1:1 scale, as a built artefact. The basic elements for coffee making are organised as a domestic set that can be produced and sold, along with the accessories for preparing coffee, to anyone wishing to practice the ceremony for a small circle. At this “serving” scale it is both support for personal practices and a possible means of income for TG, who will sell the coffee set. The small set uses the physicality of the city block as its generating geometry. The cups are organised on a grid; the grid is set on a base, coded red, that allows for spillage and placement of mobile objects. The brazier for the coffee pot is a yellow shaft, which stands as a metaphor for vertical circulation, while the mat on which the set is placed is green and represents a space of pause. The whole set packs away into a small box for travel and storage.

This tiny serving set is scaled up to become a portable ceremony. The setting's scale is three times that of the serving one and consists of three 450x450mm bases which support two serving sets and a larger brazier and pot. At the third scale, this setting is scaled up to form a pavilion that can stand freely within a larger setting. This artefact includes a back area for cleaning cups, water storage and heating, and waste. The cluster of objects are expressed as a cubic framed temporary shop that can be dismantled for transport.

At the next scale, this pavilion is designed to function in a public space. An area of three times the pavilion is added and demarcated with grass strewn flooring to create a seating area for customers. The seats are constructed from waste cardboard boxes, rolled and strapped according to practice in Jeppe. At this scale, as a temporary public place, the BunnaBet comes into being. It is seen as a site for both informal and programmed interactions, or for hire. In particular, the BunnaBet is envisaged taking place in Delvers Street, as the first step to imaging this particular street as a public and largely pedestrian route in the city. It is placed within a cube of space, demarcated by a ceiling of coloured packing straps crossing between buildings at 16m above street level.

At the next scale, the presence of the BunnaBet is imagined as a probe that choreographs dialogue between the traders and landlords in the adjacent blocks. The question of its potential permanence, or of other permanent structures in and along Delvers street will be debated over coffee. At the same time, the idea of urban change will be reflected back at the building owners and tenants. The BunnaBet programme will host technical advisors on the empirical aspects of building reuse. In particular, they will discuss critical physical challenges that face the built structures, such as the stability of their structural frames, the need for better vertical circulation, the open spaces on rooftops and plinths, and the management of circulation at ground level. These discussions support the tenants and owners to address how to extend Jeppe's lifespan by managing its physical stability and functioning.

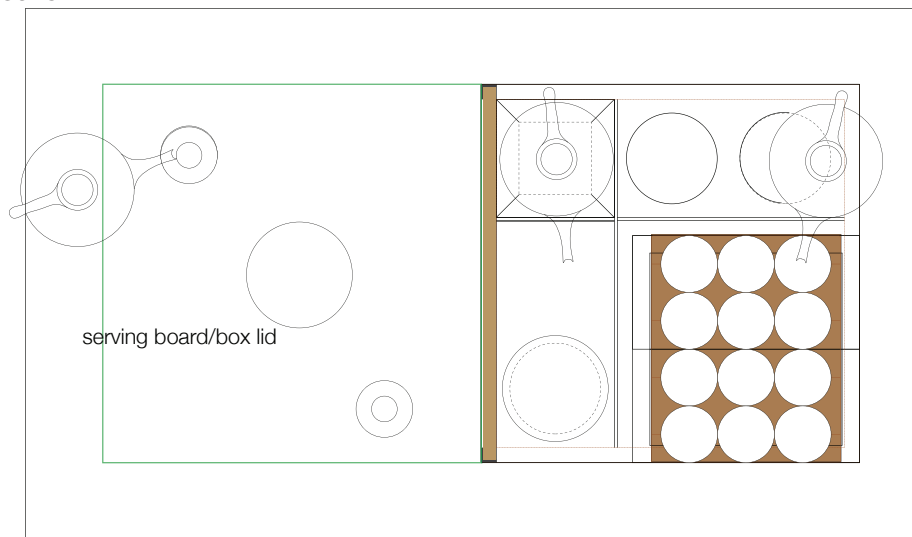
If the BunnaBet is successful at block scale, it is possible to extend these discussions to adjacent blocks. At this scale, the tasks involved in securing Jeppe could become individual projects with their own management, in order to achieve some sort of economy of scale and good management. The upgrading of elevators, stairwells and fire escapes is one potential project; a large scale preparation of plinths and rooftops for gardening and play space is a second, and the upgrading of narrow and broken pavements, and the pedestrianisation of Delvers Street would be a third. Alongside these projects, a larger scale lifespan analysis of the concrete frames of the buildings and a toolkit for their maintenance could be undertaken.

A simultaneous scale is the replication of the BunnaBet as a model for dialogue about lived modernism within international settings. At this level it is simultaneously both a huge and a tiny project, dealing with the underpinnings of transnational dialogue, at the scale of the BunnaBet setting. Retaining the precision of the ceremony at scale becomes complicated, but remains necessary. The didactic point of scaling it up is to suggest that Habesha ways can be retained even as their scale of operation increases. The ritual features and their support are considered integral to the maintenance of a mood of dialogue.

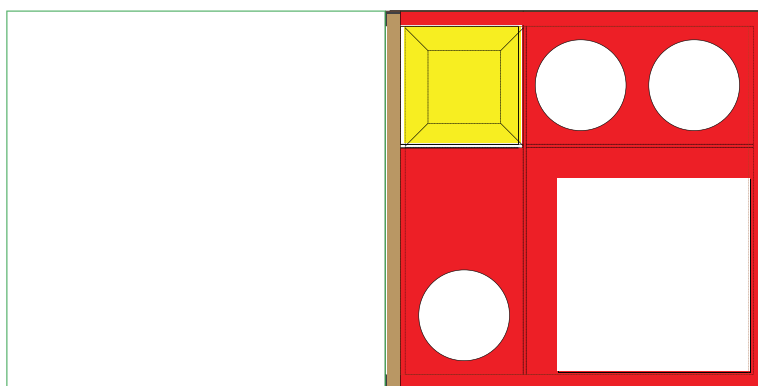
5.3 portability

The design also considers the mobility of the ceremony, and in particular its capacity to cross between the locale of Jeppe to more generic spaces. The iteration of the BunnaBet as part of my exhibition in Brussels relies on its design being replicable and portable. The portability of the design not only meets the requirements of a twin site project, it also meets the ongoing request from TG to use her coffee ceremonies to remain mobile, even, she hopes, going as far as Brussels with it. The components can be fragmented to the generic scale of a cardboard box. The 450x450mm module of the ubiquitous "Stock 6" box generates the scale of the smallest element. The design makes reference to this box, its strapping and its stacking in Jeppe in the grid underlying the larger scales, and also recycles the box as a seating element. The box also allows for transporting a coffee setting by hand and in a plane, while a set of nine box modules can be carried in the back of Hilux twin cab vehicle.

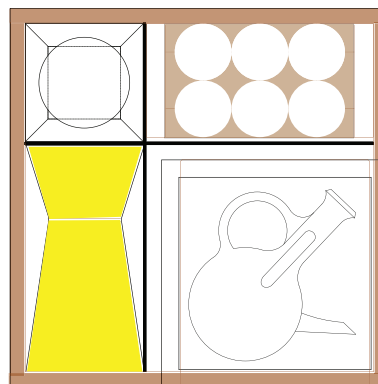
BUNNABET 1:1 SCALE PROJECT
DOMESTIC SETTING



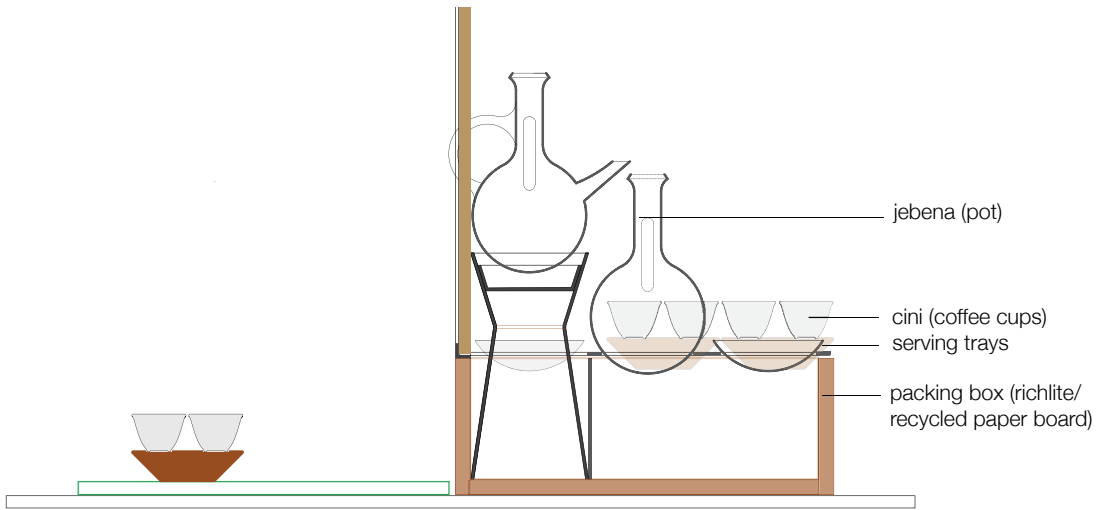
PLAN AT 600mm



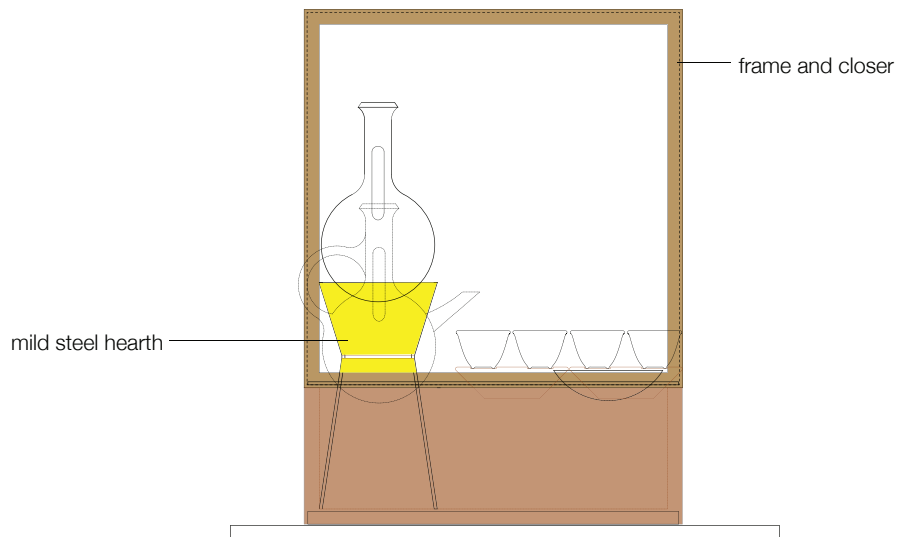
PLAN AT 300mm



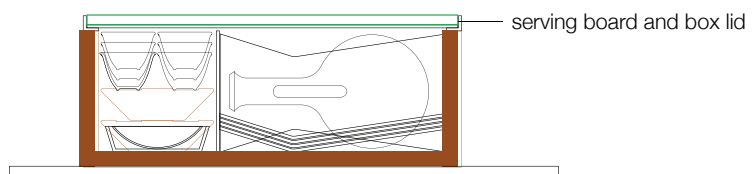
PLAN AT 100mm



SECTION

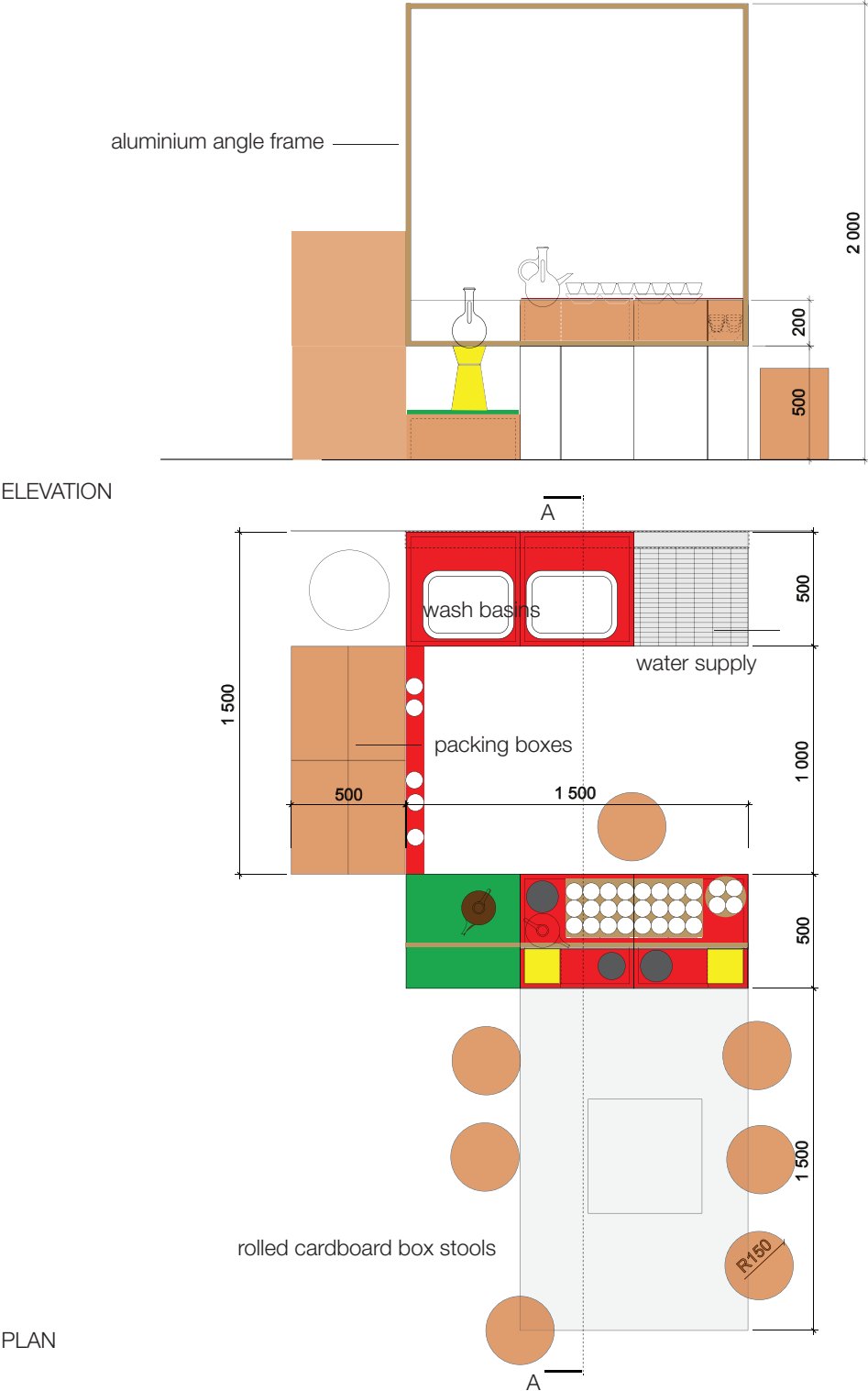


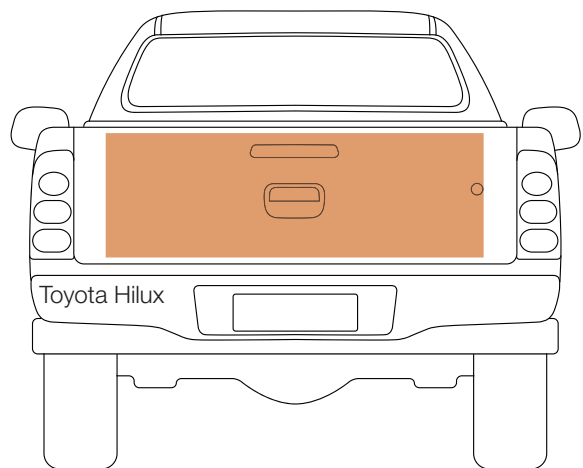
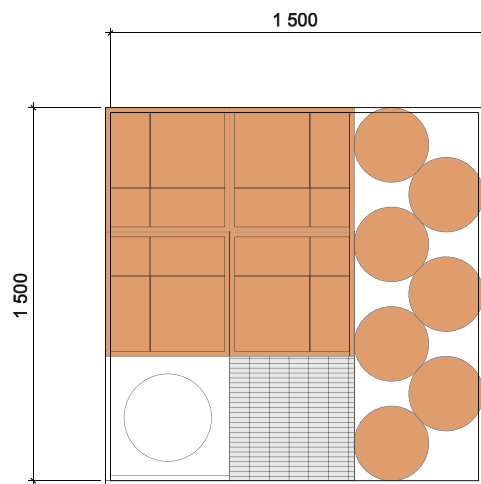
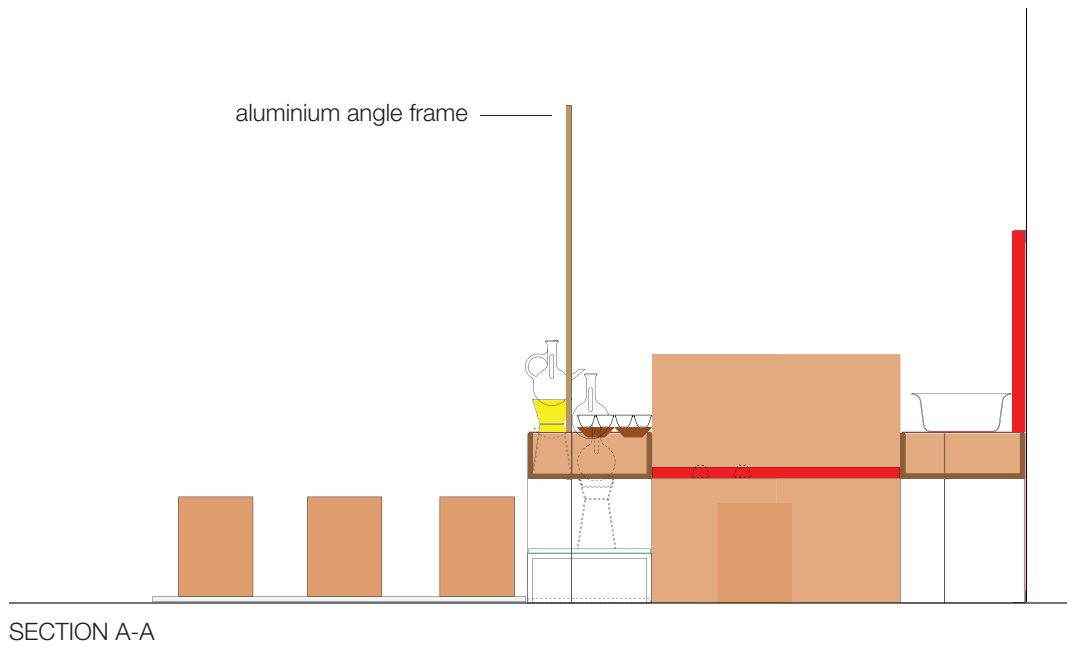
ELEVATION



PACKED SECTION

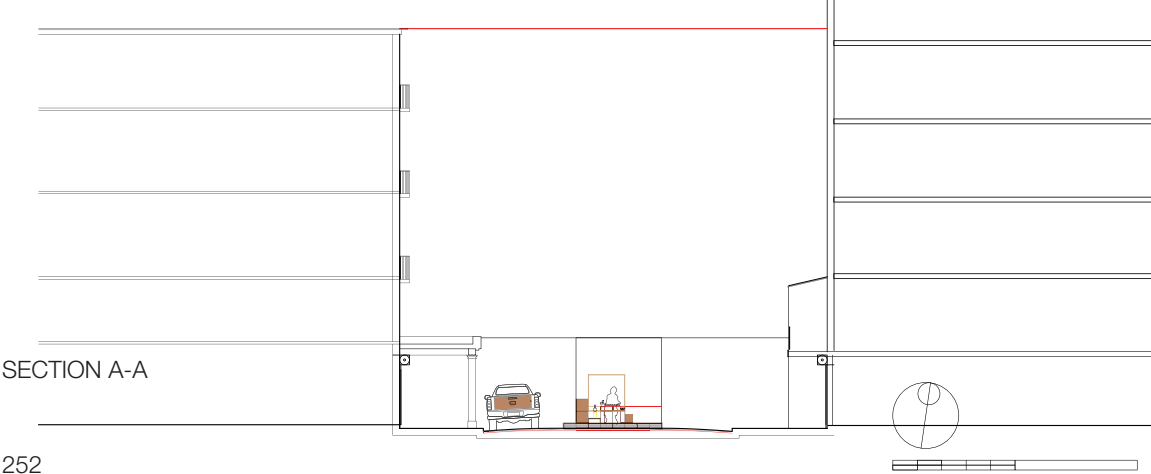
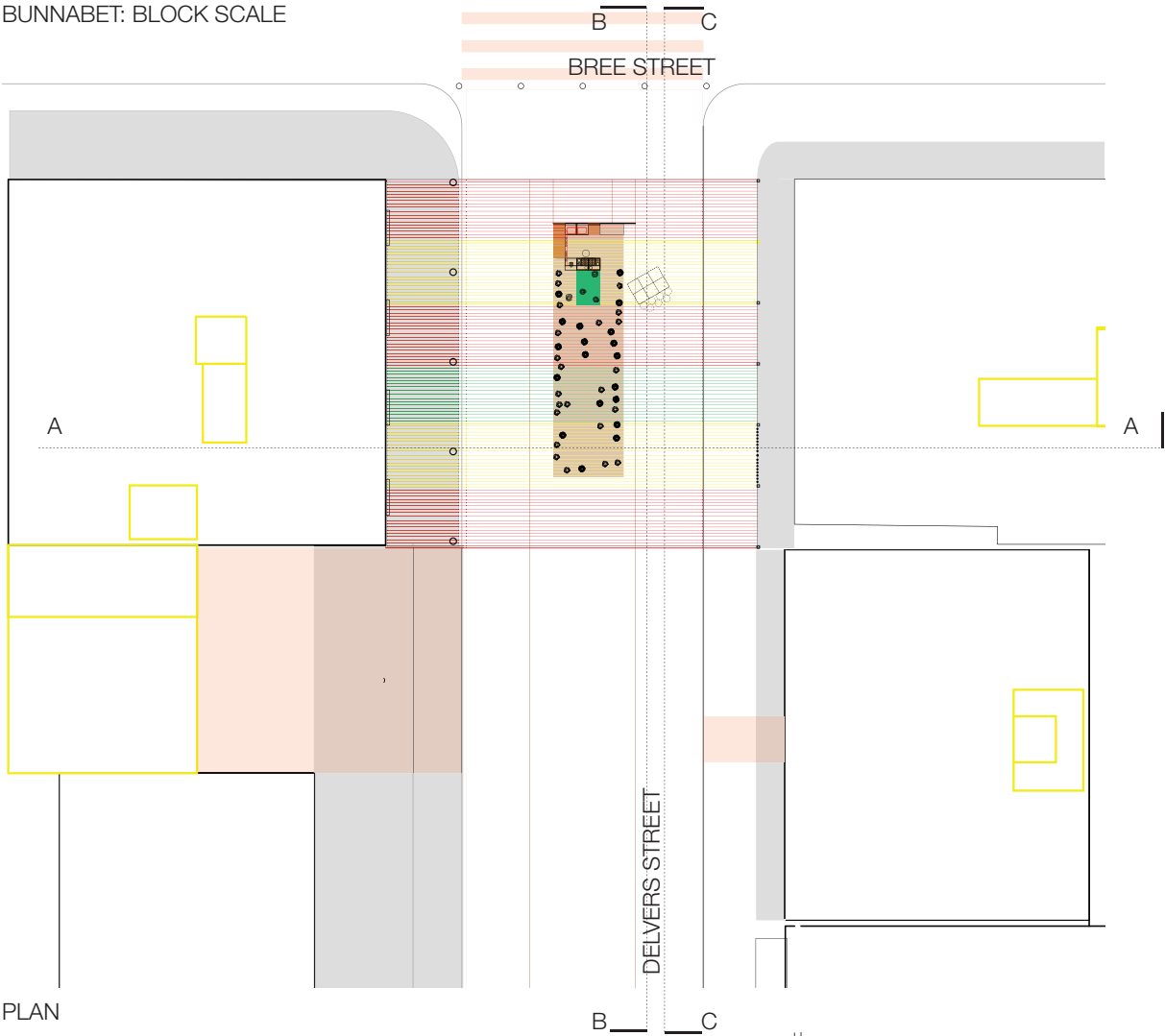
BUNNABET: PORTABLE SCALE





PACKING PLAN

BUNNABET: BLOCK SCALE



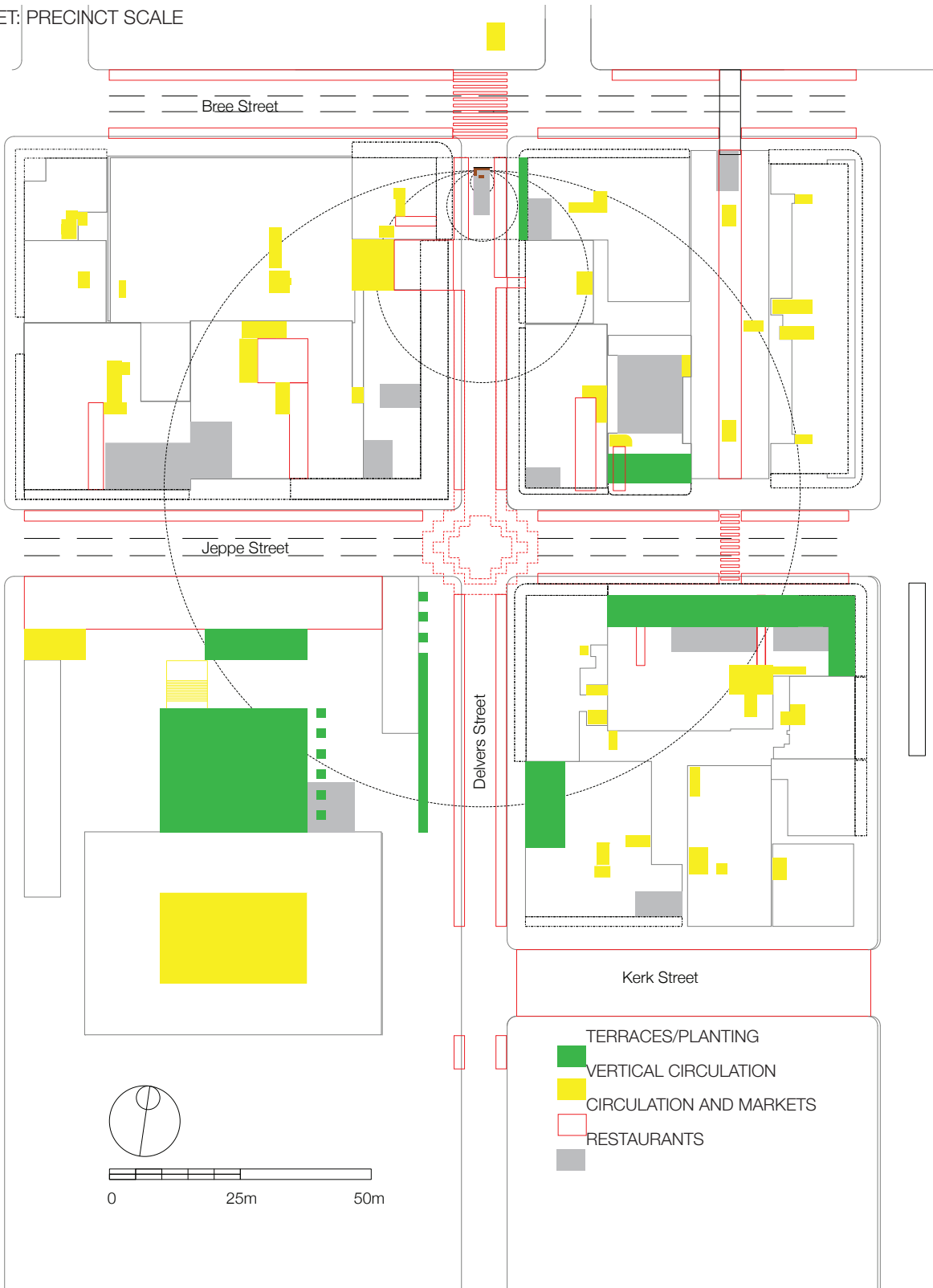


SECTION B-B

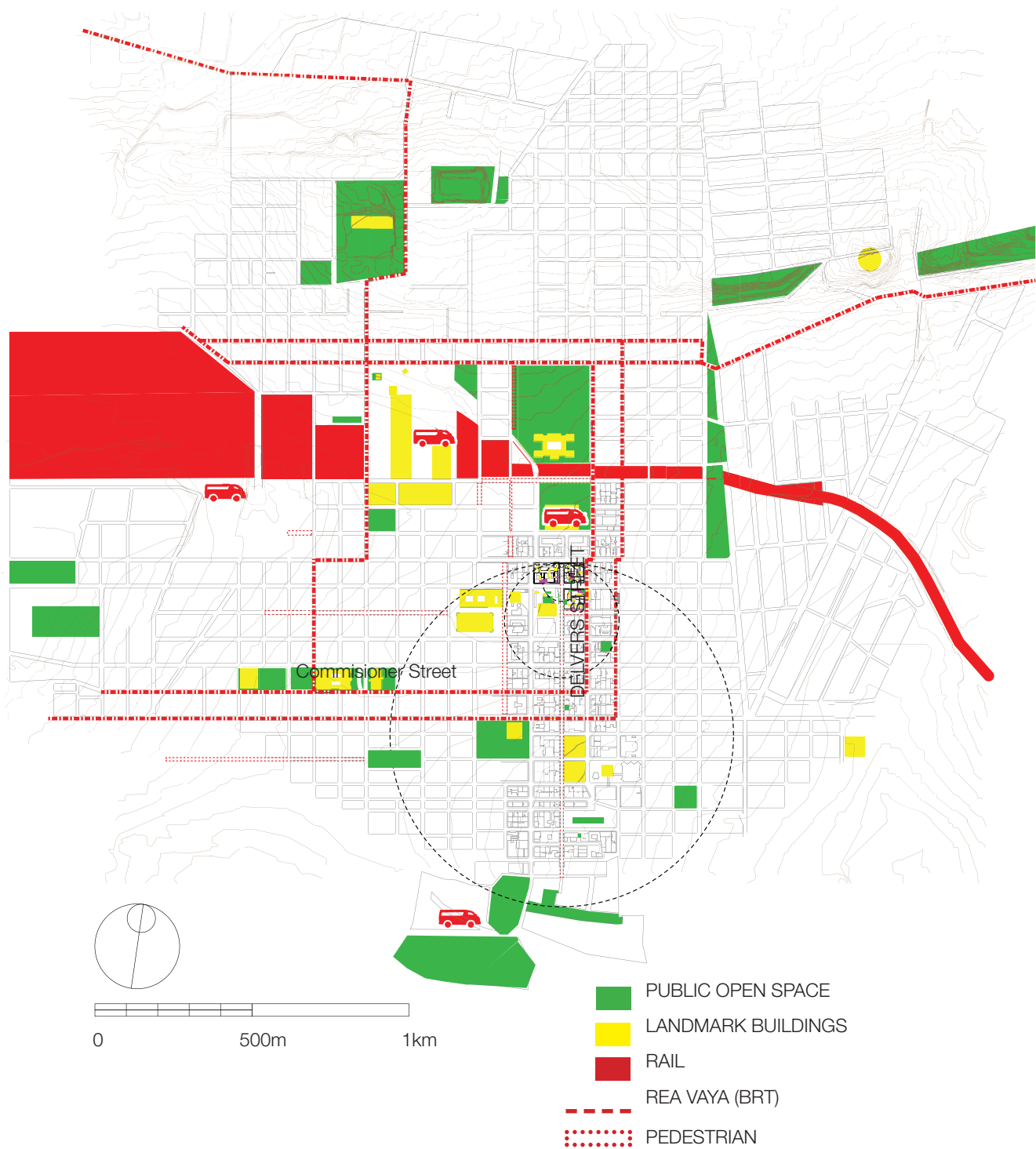


SECTION C-C

BUNNABET: PRECINCT SCALE



BUNNABET: CITY SCALE





REMIX FASHION DESIGN

AIRTIME
odacom

Opening Specials!
From Feb. 28th - Mar. 4th
EVERYTHING @ HALF PRICE
CLOTHING, SHOES, BAGS ETC.

G CENT
253 BREE street johannesburg

SEASONAL FURNITURE SALE
KIDIP No. 12

BI CLOTH
RESALERS & RE



MERKATO SHOPPING CENTRE

One stop, Shopper paradise @ Basement 1st, 2nd and 3rd



253 Bree Str. Johar

RUT WHOLESAL
Clothing, shoes, computer accessories, wallet, cosmetics, wigs, jeans, etc.
No. 11 & 12 Corner Broadbent Canal Cell 082

COMMERCIAL SPACE
TO LET
082 704 6304

AFRICA BUSINESS CENTRE
101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000

6. conclusion

The study over time of the Jeppe area shows the appropriation of modernist space happening at scale, within a three dimensional matrix. This is the consequence of its reinvention as a trading empire for the Habesha diaspora, as it overlays its experience of both non-colonial African and Asian urbanism into the emptiness left in the wake of modernist commercial space. The change takes on multiple forms but, schematically, is seen in the intensification of horizontal flows of people and goods along the city streets and pavements; the use of the verticality of buildings to construct unforeseen adjacencies and to store goods above the points of distribution; and the exploitation of porosity within this built matrix to create small space of leisure and green.

Within this context, *bunna bets* have a particularly powerful role in catalysing the networks that invest in this spatial change. The relative neutrality, slowness and feminine qualities of these spaces represent a heterotopic place within which, under the influence of caffeine, a certain clarity can be achieved. Through the use of the ceremony for a number of urban discussions, the BunnaBet Jeppe emerged as a project and direction for design. This project's proposition is that the Jeppe area be seen as a positive development of the inner city, invested with spatial and experiential richness. However as a liminal area it also lies outside of the law, often by choice, and so is vulnerable to action.

The consequent vision that I developed for Jeppe is of a place that distills and amplifies the setting of the coffee ceremony. The design and programming invests it with an additional function, as a constructed and socially programmed form of urban pedagogy. As a sign of cosmopolitanism, it is imagined as a support for a transcultural dialogue about those practices around trading that threaten the fabric of the city. At the same time, the BunnaBet design is mindful of the ambitions of its partner and informer, TG, in her search for a place to establish herself in exile. It includes concepts of marketability within a commercial world, both as a reproducible artefact and a setting for hire.

BunnaBet Jeppe aims to catalyse these two different scales of impact on the life of a community and of an individual woman within it. It will do so using the same strategies that the broader community has used in their appropriation of Jeppe, organised and codified through design.

In the conflation of two spatial schemes, that is the appropriated built fabric of Jeppe, and the coffee ceremony setting, BunnaBet Jeppe is a *transform* intended as a trans-scalar intervention. As such, it acts as a pedagogic setting to communicate urban strategies at a conversational and domestic scale. It is an informal leisure space, it reuses boxes and it makes a show of the horizontal circulation of objects and the stacking of goods. The coffee ceremony is by nature didactic, communicating a connection between people through the circulation of cups and enhanced by the influence of caffeine. Simultaneously, it expands the domestic ritual of the *bunna bet* both through

multiplicity (as a franchised space) and through placement within larger and more public sites. In this iteration, it links to the idea of Delvers Street as *transform*: a street proposed as the urban equivalent of the bunnabet (and temporarily, hosting it through a coffee festival). In this scenario, Delvers Street can take on the qualities of quiet management that characterise the *bunna bets*; of flows, stacking, and slow space, as well as framing a collective discussion about Jeppe in the city.

4. conclusion of part III

KwaThema and Johannesburg's inner city are two sites where *lived modernism* is at work. As sites of engagement for design they represent two diverse conditions: one about making place for marginalised informal activities within sprawling, horizontal open spaces, and the other involves strategically locating relations and opportunities in a dense matrix of space.

Defining a critical architectural practice in these contexts has been simultaneously an act of learning, performing and rebooting found and designed strategies. As a guiding narrative for this practice, in places with multiple possibilities for change, the intention has been to locate and support activities that lead towards greater autonomy and recognition for their creators.

Experience shows that the process of change that has been possible in each context is momentary. In contrast to a modernist intention of absolute spatial design, or the democratic ideal of full participation, the projects proposed small changes, minor modifications: *transforms*.

At the Beerhall, this experience of change could be glimpsed in the process of cleaning, as new relationships between students and the local youth formed, along with a new, shared vision of the ruin as available space. Likewise, by placing secondary, interactive elements in the frames of the structure, the students replaced its lost boundaries with zones of engagement. And in the launch, by hosting community members whose actions made atmospheres of sound and smoke, the space was filled with traces of life.

In the PITCH projects, the transformative element has been the whiteness of the paint, signs and tents that line and locate the spaces taken over for soccer. As an ephemeral layer in contrast to the extensive grasslands and earth of open spaces, it designates a surface to project and define the transient identity of the game and all its participants.

In the BunnaBet, coffee has been the element running through each design and event. The redevelopment of the ceremony that constitutes these projects expanded the artefacts of the ceremony to serve other narratives, but the atmosphere of the ceremony as a model of spatial management, and the function of caffeine in its connective chemistry, remain at their heart. These projects transform awareness at the moment of consuming coffee, but the setting, at all scales, is the subject of its design.

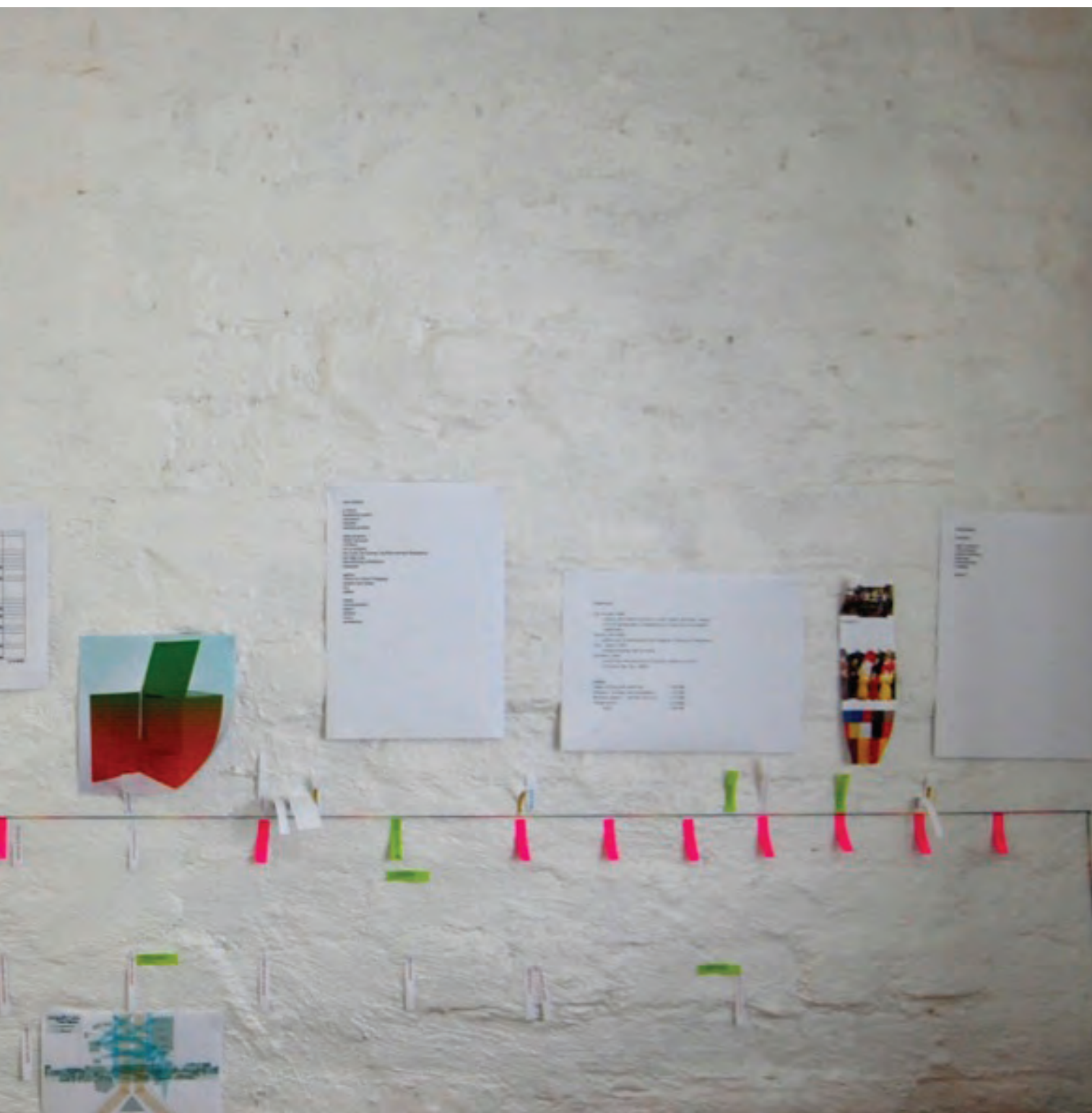
The elements for the ceremony borrow from and narrate the ways that the modernist matrix is spatially appropriated. By lining, partitioning, reusing, bending and connecting this matrix, they act in two ways: to bring into the BunnaBet a model of their outside world, and to support the circulation, storage and space for conviviality that the ceremony

requires. At the same time, this setting is potentially ephemeral, capable of being repacked into a small cluster of boxes and moved, like its users, to anywhere imaginable.

In conclusion, the conditions inherent in these materialised projects have enforced their distillation to quite minimal elements. The designerly work involved has been to maintain the power of what is around them in the process of their development. That surrounding is both the material resource of a modernist frame, and the relational world of people involved in the project. It is not possible to engage with the many relationships and sites on offer. I have learned, instead, to look for moments where there is the strongest fit between my capacity to engage through design and the capacity for change within settings and activities. The project narratives, which are given clarity in retrospect through the use of timelines, network diagrams and explanatory sketches, are a source of reflection on the moments when these projects transform.

CONCLUSION





"What is seemingly transitory and ephemeral, processual and only a body of images, is often, by its illusion of stability, more durable than our eroding stone monuments."

(Prussin, 1995:xvi)

1. *lived modernism, transforms*

The image of the built residues of modernism in a state of change, *lived modernism*, is the touchstone for this thesis. These architectural spaces and structures, originally constructed through a powerful ideal of growth, but now stripped down to a backdrop for unforeseen ways of life and their traces, constitute a challenging narrative of change. In seeking for a definition of architecture's emancipatory potentials, particularly in the face of post-apartheid aspirations and economic crises, this genre of change has inspired me to see it as more than an image, but as a key to ways of using designerly work as a catalytic force.

I have explored these images in increasing depth, starting with memories and an external record of contemporary photography, through the discussion of a dozen case studies, four creative practices and lastly in reflecting on a catalytic project of my own. My reflection has come to understand that there is a moment in the process of change that is of particular significance, in which the designed intervention bridges between a shared awareness of the availability of space and the crystallisation of emergent ways of being. I have termed this function *transforms*, in recognition of its transformative power, and using linguistic ambivalence to designate its fluid quality of being simultaneously object, process and temporal event. *Transforms* derive meaning as they simultaneously catalyse a shift away from functional readings of context towards ones that are open to its qualities of pure form or space, and a development of social subjectivities from the fragile towards a sense of new identity.

2. *transforming architecture*

The question that arises from identifying *transforms* as a critical moment linking architecture and change is the means of applying such an insight in practice. Architectural theory identifies the potentials of acknowledging the temporal life of space and the need to support its open potentials, particularly in contrast to the determinism implicit in modernism. This is less evident in many contemporary projects which continue to expand a late modernist agenda of new development, whether in the name of welfarist policies or commercial growth. My own experience of the architectural profession, reinforced in discussion with peers, is that the multiple, "radically careful" (Latour, 2009) ways of work involved in reworking the existing environment are weakly articulated. In reaction to this, I have contributed the idea that *transforms* works as a "weak architecture" with extensive potentials in relation to its found context and communities. In documenting other practices, I have listed a multitude of strategies used to achieve transformation.

Outside of these documentary, linguistic and diagrammatic approaches, however, the thesis derived its deepest insights by tracing my designerly explorations or “probes” (Seago and Dunne, 1999) of lived modernism. Located in two complementary spatial and social contexts where modernism serves as the backdrop for self organisation, these projects constituted material proposals and micro-projects to test the potentials for a designerly agency in these found situations.

In the context of KwaThema, this agency manifested itself in the reassignment of a ruined structure to youth as a place to enact their open potentials. In the same township, in the later PITCH project, I tested the potential of soccer games on open fields to demonstrate the Commons that is implicit in open space, and to constitute an ephemeral urban richness alongside these events. In the inner city area of Jeppe, I explored the didactic potential of Habesha coffee shops in relation to crises of urban management and repressed cosmopolitan potentials.

The means of working that these projects expands on the idea of *narrative* as the trace and logic of designerly ways of knowing (Buchanan, 2007, Schön, 1983). Such narratives are clarified through practices of mapping the somewhat organic evolution of each project into timelines representing a series of micro-events, as well as the relational world around each set of practices. These representations complemented the more conventional ways of shaping the project through design drawings and reflective sketches, and contributed to the understanding of the interrelationship between momentary events, spatial frames and social relations. In addition, the experience of working *in situ* directly enriched my awareness of materials and embodied techniques involved making things and relating in space.

3. transformative potentials

The design probes of the KwaThema, PITCH and BunnaBet projects, despite emerging from small scales of work over a long time, convinced me of the potentials of the renewable elements of the constructed environments. These elements are human capital and the already constructed Commons that modernism leaves behind it. The projects represent how found material can generate new possibilities for architectural intervention in the face of economic austerity in Africa and in the wake of the global financial crisis. In these ways, *lived modernism* has a functional logic that lies in the ecological and learning values of reuse. By trimming the growth of the constructed environment and growing the fit between it and human subjects, architecture moves closer to ecological ideals.

As the grand organisational plans of modernism fades or fails, the reciprocal value of minor projects is raised. Minor modifications grate against the major ambition of the modernist project. Yet without knowing if “minor modifications” have the potential to become *major* in their impact, or even whether this is desirable, it does seem possible that they have a catalytic role. They resonate with concepts such as that of urban acupuncture, which was used by Catalan

architect Manuel de Solà-Morales (de Solà-Morales, 2008:24) to articulate small strategic interventions as an alternative to full scale renewal, recognising that effective urban design uses great understanding of urban flows to locate projects.

As a consequence of my research, I can see the need for more work in mapping those infrastructures that hold out potentials for renewal through analogous projects of transformation. There is an important need to audit the extent of land, structures and other physical elements that fall within the ambit of a Commons constructed under modernism. Whether the everyday spaces of suburban backyards and parks, the pathologies of scarred landscapes, the vacant infrastructures like the High Line or more isolated elements, there is a surfeit of available material for reuse. The social and ecological consequences of this potential needs to be quantified. This could arguably lead to a more supportive context for practices of lived modernism, through policy, capital and social support. In the process, small and isolated projects need to be linked through the extension of practice communities and recognition for this genre of work.

In addition, architectural theory in dialogue with other disciplinary approaches contains the seeds for a much richer exploration of the process of temporal transformation in, and of space. This would involve both philosophical enquiry into the temporal nature of spatial experience (drawing on phenomenology and its roots) and models of the cognitive process at work in the appropriation of the constructed world. The phenomenon of emptiness as a specific quality of the post-Fordist city that is actively constructed through the intervention of artists (Krivy, 2010), is an instance of a single case study that could be extended through this broader enquiry.

My primary experience of change sparked this observation of curiosity and imagination around the residue of modernism. It appeared, in my discussions and observations of use, that there were patterns of recognition of potential that came with the act of cleaning and sharpening the outlines of modernist space. These insights came from people with very different backgrounds, yet often seemed aligned with mine and with those of others. How are projects of reuse imagined? Is there a common, human language, a form of spatial intelligence that responds to and links imagined vacancy with new ways of life? How can we trace such understandings of space and its potentials, and how can they link to and concretely illustrate the encounter between the imaginary and material aspects of lived space that is discussed in the theoretical work on cities of Lefebvre and others?

4. limitations

Although it was not implicitly preoccupied with the small scale, the practice based work had an emphasis on small, ephemeral artefacts as the catalytic element in social change. This kind of artefact could be said to lie on the boundary of architecture and public art (Paul Robbrecht, 2012). It does not have the scale and permanence that is traditionally associated with architecture, but nor does it have the autonomy from function that is linked to works of art. The scale of projects was determined by budgets that were closer to those used to produce artworks than architecture. At the same time, the projects, although they documented larger communities of emerging social practices, only involved two small groups of social agents.

While the project long envisaged the completion of the two new design probes as part of the research process, it eventually excludes reflection on their final unfolding. They will be constructed and used, at least symbolically, by the end of this research process. But their real afterlives will be the subject of ongoing work. This relates in part to the scale and budget of a doctoral project and to the contingencies of working in marginal sites, but mostly to the fact that activism relates to its own parameters that often fall outside of what can be adequately documented in an academic way. The needs for speed in action, collaboration and compromise do not fit well with the closure of an individual study.

Scaling up inevitably brings additional complexity, in the form of collaborations to produce and conceptualize larger projects that would be too difficult to both narrate and execute. Nonetheless I am committed to the future life of each project and its growth would constitute a way forward for practice.

Lastly, there is a need for these projects to stimulate further projects. The mimetic nature of design makes projects the seed for further ones, but it might require further support through the forms of institutional or seed funding that sparked the KwaThema Project. Through such means, the PITCH and BunnaBet projects might generate new and mutated versions, disseminated through local versions, public culture and my own engagement with students. I hope to use these projects to lever support for other experimental projects in the global South, to counter the fact that it is more often than not seen as the recipient, rather than the source of creative designs for social change.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

all images by author unless otherwise noted

INTRODUCTION

Holy Cross School, Lagos, original design by Fry and Drew (1951) in 2002	2-3
research locations (graphic based on FreeVectorMaps.com)	7
design projects methods	15
location of the projects and urban centres of the Witwatersrand	24

I. REVIEWING (LIVED) MODERNISM

struggle scenes, 1976-1990	29
pioneer informal traders, Johannesburg, 1997	30
modern movement architecture in Nigeria, in 2002	31
dirty dozen: timeline	34
dirty dozen: comparative scales	37
dirty dozen: descriptive strip	38-39
(image sources: Lefaivre et al, 2002; Matta-Clark, 1974; de Oliveira, 2006; Dobson and Skinner, 2009; Friends of the High Line, 2010; Provoost et al, 2007; Druot et al, 2007; Cornell, 2009; Paul Robbrecht, 2005; Catherine da Silva and Tom Chapman, 2007; 51% architects, 2010)	
comparative framework for projects	41
dirty dozen: parameters of engagement	42-43
dirty dozen: strategies	51

II. MODERNISM | TRANSFORMS | ARCHITECTURE

transforms diagram, Pullen Farm workshop 2013	54-55
Brand (1996). Shearing layers of change.	60
four minimalist practices	67
Leon van Schaik, ideogram of influences on a design proposition (Hendrickx et al. 2008:114)	71
Wolfgang Jonas, design research (Jonas 2001:79)	71
<i>transforms</i> diagram	72
Montessori prepared space as transform	73
el Lissitzky Proun as transform	73
Oiticica Bolide as transform	74
Conderelli Support Structure as transform	74

III. PRACTICE TRANSFORMS

1. THE KWATHEMA PROJECT

KwaThema Project, beerhall launch, 2007	80-81
KwaThema in the 1950's (Calderwood, 196-)	83
KwaThema Project sites (aerial from Ekurhuleni Metro)	87-88
KwaThema Project participants	82-83
beerhall construction, weeks 1-4	94
KwaThema Project timeline	96-97
beerhall construction, weeks 4-7	99
Tom Chapman, 2007, logo for KwaThema Project	112
Catherine da Silva, KwaThema Project network diagrams, 2007. Week 1	112
Catherine da Silva, KwaThema Project network diagrams, 2007. Weeks 3 and 7	113

2. PITCH: THE LANDSCAPE TRANSFORMS

Hostel field shade structure (unknown builder) 2012	118-119
Soccer field montages (aerial photos and watercolours, 2010)	125-127
Mighty Vision soccer club, Bethanie (Curious Pictures, 2010)	128-129
KwaThema soccer fields and open space network	134-135
KwaThema pitches (aerial supplied by Ekurhuleni Metro)	138-139
Nthokozweni field before and after intervention, 2010-2011	141
Nthokozweni field, 2011	142
logo for proposed open fields tournament, 2010. (White lines onto image sourced from Google Earth)	143
Eudy Park clean-up, 2011	144-145
PITCH timeline	148-149
network of research sites and subjects	150-151
white line unit	153
PITCH studies 2009-2011	154
PITCH design strategies 2010	155
Chinese made gazebo. Set up instruction sheet. Author unknown, 2010.	157
Riverside area and Eudy park (aerial supplied by Ekurhuleni Metro)	158
Eudy game	159
Eudy park plan	160

Eudy park elements	161
KwaThema tent construction	163
Gedult Park (aerial supplied by Ekurhuleni Metro)	164
Gedult Park elements	165
Gedult Park tent construction	166-167
High School field (aerial supplied by Ekurhuleni Metro)	170
High School field plan	171
High School game elevations	172-173
High School game detail plan and sections	174-175
High School game details	176
High School game materials	177
tournament structure for school sports teams (San Diego County Office of Education, 2013)	178
KwaThema soccer networks	180-181
High School pitch	182-183

3. BUNNABET JEPPE: A MATRIX TRANSFORMS

bunnabet, 4th floor of former medical centre, Jeppe, 2011	188-189
Johannesburg inner city, aerial photo c1930 (Museum Africa)	193
Johannesburg inner city, aerial photo c2010 (City of Johannesburg)	194
customs and police raid in Jeppe. (de Kock, 2012, GypsyJourno, 2012). Video stills.	197
drawing of micro-shop design, taped to wall of buildings site, unknown author. Jeppe area, 2010	199
Medical Arts (now Majesty) building elevation, Morgenstern and Morgenstern architects, 1961	201
Majesty building uses in 1961 and 2011	202-203
Majesty interiors, 2011	204-205
Majesty building elevation in 2011	206
BunnaBet timeline	208-209
coffeemanifesto, Wits University, 2009, plan	211
coffeemanifesto, Wits University, 2009, images	212
BunnaBet materials	213
feedingspace exhibition, Goethe on Main, 2010, plan	216
feedingspace exhibition, Goethe on Main, 2010, photographs by Leon Krige	217
feedingspace exhibition, Goethe on Main, 2010, design elements	218
feedingspace, Ethiopian cooking lesson	219
feedingspace photessay	220

feedingspace, twelve projects diagram	221
Jeppe social and projects network, 2011	222-223
bunnabet as space for discussion, 2011	224
health certificate plan, 2012	229
coding Jeppe, axonometric	231
new bunnabet, Bimo building, in 2012	232-233
Jeppe fieldwork locations, 2011	226
Delvers street, looking south	227
BunnaBet napkin sketch, 2010	239
Coding Jeppe: model	240
Coding Jeppe: elevations	241-242
Coding Jeppe: plan	243
Coding Jeppe: scaling concept	244
BunnaBet design 1:1 scale plan	248
BunnaBet design 1:1 scale elevations	249
BunnaBet design 1:3 scale plan	250
BunnaBet design 1:3 scale elevations	251
BunnaBet design 1:27 scale plan	252
BunnaBet design 1:27 scale elevation	253
BunnaBet design 1:91 scale plan	254
BunnaBet design 1:273 scale plan	255
BunnaBet site photo	256-257
CONCLUSION	
Timeline in progress, home office wall, 2009	264-265
APPENDIX	
Seminars, 2009-2012	289
PITCH materials	291-293
BunnaBet Brussels, 2014	296-297
overall timeline (foldout)	298-299

BIBLIOGRAPHY

2013. Oxford Art Online. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- 51% STUDIOS. 2010. *Urban Birds: Nestworks 1 2 3* [Online]. <http://51pct.com>.
- AFRIGIS. 2012. *Census 2011* [Online]. <http://www.census2011.co.za>.
- ALEGI, P. 2010. Soccer and Human Rights: Chief Luthuli, Alan Paton, Dennis Brutus and the 2010 World Cup. *17th Alan Paton Memorial Lecture*. University of KwaZulu Natal, UKZN.
- ALEGI, P. C. 2000. *Moving the goalposts : playing styles, sociability, and politics in South African soccer in the 1960s*, Boston, MA, African Studies Center, Boston University.
- ALEGI, P. C. 2004. *Laduma! : soccer, politics and society in South Africa*, Scottsville, South Africa, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- ALSAYAD, N. (ed.) 2001. *Hybrid urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment*, Westport, Conn., Praeger.
- AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL 2011. *Dismantling Dissent: Intensified crackdown on free speech in Ethiopia*. London.
- ANGEL, S., PARENT, J., CIVCO, D. L. & BLEI, A. M. 2013. *Atlas of Urban Expansion* [Online]. Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy. <http://www.lincolninst.edu>
- ARC EN RÊVE, HARVARD PROJECT ON THE CITY, REM KOOLHAAS, SANFORD KWINTER & STEFANO BOERI AND MULTIPLICITY 2001. *Mutations*, Bordeaux, arc en rêve centre d'architecture and ACTAR.
- ARCHITECTURE FOR HUMANITY. 2012. *Open Architecture Network* [Online]. San Francisco. <http://openarchitecturenetwork.org>.
- ARENDT, H. 1993. *Between Past and Future*, New York, Penguin.
- AVERMAETE, T., KARAKAYALI, S., OSTEN, M. V. & EDS. 2010. *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past, Rebellions for the Future*, London, Black Dog Publishing.
- AWAN, N., SCHNEIDER, T. & TILL, J. 2011. *Spatial Agency: other ways of doing architecture*, Abingdon and New York, NY, Routledge.
- BARTHES, R. 1997. *What is Sport? (reprint and translation of 1960 edition)*, New Haven, Yale University Press.
- BAWA, K., DEWAR, W., GARRETT, N. & KALLENBACH, D. 2011. *Procuring Architecture: Flemish and South Africa Perspectives*. Johannesburg: School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand.

- BEAVON, K. S. O. 2004. *Johannesburg : the making and shaping of the city*, Pretoria, University of South Africa Press.
- BELL, B. & WAKEFORD, K. (eds.) 2008. *Expanding Architecture: Design as Activism*, New York: Metropolis Books.
- BEY, J. 2012a. *Studio Jurgen Bey* [Online]. <http://www.jurgenbey.nl>.
- BEY, S. M. 2012b. *Studio Makkink & Bey* [Online]. <http://www.studiomakkinkbey.nl>.
- BILL, M., LLECHA, J. & UNIVERSIDAD POLITÉCNICA DE CATALUNYA. 2001. *Max Bill*, Barcelona, UPC.
- BISHOP, C. (ed.) 2006. *Participation*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press.
- BOERI, S. 2003. *Multiplicity use : uncertain states of Europe : a trip through a changing Europe*, Milano, Skira.
- BOLSMANN, C. 2011. The 1899 Orange Free State football team tour of Europe: 'Race', imperial loyalty and sporting contest. *International journal of the history of sport*, 28, 81-97.
- BONNER, P., NIEFTAGORDIEN, N. & MATHABATHA, S. 2012. *Ekurhuleni: the making of an urban region*, Johannesburg, Wits University Press.
- BORDEN, I. & RUEDI, K. 2000. *The Dissertation: an Architectural Student's Handbook*, Oxford, Architectural Press.
- BOURRIAUD, N. 2002. *Relational aesthetics*, Dijon, Les presses du réel.
- BOZZOLI, B. 2004. *Theatres of Struggle and the End of Apartheid*, Athens, Ohio University Press.
- BRAND, S. (ed.) 1969. *Whole Earth Catalogue*, San Francisco, Stewart Brand.
- BRAND, S. 1995. *How Buildings Learn*, London, Penguin Books.
- BRANDT, C. V. (ed.) 2010. *London +10*, London, Architectural Association.
- BREMNER, L. & SUBIROS, P. 2006. *Johannesburg, Emerging/Diverging Metropolis*. Mendrisio.
- BRILLEMBOURG, A., FEIREISS, K. & KLUMNER, H. 2005. *Informal city : Caracas case*, Munich, New York, Prestel.
- BRILLEMBOURG, A. & KLUMNER, H. (eds.) 2012. *Torre David: Informal Vertical Communities*, Zürich, Lars Müller Publishers.
- BUCHANAN, R. 1992. Wicked Problems in Design Thinking. *Design Issues*, 8, 5-21.
- BUCHANAN, R. 2007. Strategies of Design Research: Productive Science and Rhetorical Inquiry. In: MICHEL, R. (ed.) *Design Research Now*. Basel, Birkhäuser.
- CALDERWOOD, D. 195-. *Native Housing in South Africa*, Cape Town, Cape Times.
- CALDERWOOD, D. 1953. *An investigation into the planning of urban native housing in South Africa*. D.Arch, University of the Witwatersrand.
- CAMPBELL, K. 2011. *Massive Small: The Operating Programme for Smart Urbanism*, London, Urban Exchange.
- CARSON, R. 1965. *Silent spring*, Harmondsworth, Penguin in association with Hamilton.
- CASTRO, F. 2007. Hélio Oiticica: Enthalpy and Entropy. *Literal*, 10-17.
- CHABAL, P. & DALOZ, J.-P. 1999. *Africa works : disorder as political instrument*, Bloomington and Oxford, Indiana University Press, James Currey, in association with the International African Institute.
- CHIPKIN, C. 1993. *Johannesburg Style: Architecture and Society 1880's to 1960's*, Cape Town, David Philip.

- CHIPKIN, C. 2008. *Johannesburg Transition: Architecture and Society from 1950*, Johannesburg, STE Publishers.
- CHRISTIAANSE, K. & BAUM, M. (eds.) 2013. *City as Loft: Adaptive Reuse as a Resource for Sustainable Urban Development*, Zürich, gta Verlag, ETH.
- CHRISTOPHER, A. J. 1994. *The atlas of apartheid*, New York, London, Johannesburg, Routledge and Witwatersrand University Press.
- CHRYSLER, C. G., CAIRNS, S. & HEYNEN, H. (eds.) 2012. *The SAGE Handbook of Architectural Theory*, London, SAGE.
- CITY OF JOHANNESBURG 1947. Town Planning Scheme. Johannesburg.
- CITY PRESS. 2013. *Government makes Sifa hearts 'bleed'* [Online]. <http://www.citypress.co.za>
- COHEN, J.-L. & ELEB, M. 2002. *Casablanca: Colonial Myths and Architectural Ventures*, New York, Monacelli Press.
- CONDORELLI, C. 2004. *Alterity Display*. London, Lawrence O'Hana Gallery.
- CONDORELLI, C. 2009. *Support Structures*, Berlin, Sternberg Press.
- CONDORELLI, C. & THALER, H. 2013. *Things that go without saying*.
- CONRADS, U. (ed.) 1975. *Programmes and Manifestoes on 20th Century Architecture*, Cambridge, MIT Press.
- CORNELL SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE. 2009. *itopia: Building the Public City* [Online]. Ithaca. <http://itopiarometheeternalcity.blogspot.com>
- CROSS, N. 2007. *Designing Ways of Knowing*, London, Springer-Verlag.
- CUFF, D. 1992. *Architecture: the Story of Practice*, Cambridge, MIT Press.
- CUNNINGHAM, A. 2013. *Joburg Trade Resources* [Online]. <http://joburgtraderesources.wordpress.com>.
- DE BOECK, F. & PLISSART, M.-F. 2004. *Kinshasa : tales of the invisible city*, Tervuren, Ludion, Royal Museum for Central Africa and Vlaams Architectuurinstituut.
- DE CERTEAU, M. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- DE KOCK, A. (director) 2012. *Police Raid in Johannesburg Central*, 2012.
- DE MEULDER, B. 2000. *Kuvuande Mbote: Een Eeuw Koloniale Architectuur en Stedenbouw in Kongo*, Antwerp, Houtekiet.
- DE MEULDER, B. 2002. Kinshasa, the Hereafter of Modern Architecture. In: HENKET, H.-J. & HEYNEN, H. (eds.) *Back from Utopia: the Challenge of the Modern Movement*. Rotterdam, 010 publishers.
- DE NIJS, A. 2013. *Expectations of Modernity & Realities of Life in Michenzani - Zanzibar*. Master of Urbanism and Strategic Planning, KU Leuven.
- DE OLIVEIRA, O. 2006. *Subtle substances : the architecture of Lina Bo Bardi*, Barcelona, Editorial Gustavo Gili.
- DE SOLÀ-MORALES, M. 2008. *A Matter of Things*, Rotterdam, NAI Publishers.
- DE SOLÀ-MORALES RUBIO, I. 1995. Terrain Vague. In: DAVIDSON, C. (ed.) *Anyplace*. New York, MIT Press.
- DE SOLÀ-MORALES RUBIO, I. 1996. *Differences: Topographies of Contemporary Architecture*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press.

- DEWAR, D. & TODESCHINI, F. 2003. *Rethinking urban transport after modernism : lessons from South Africa*, Aldershot, Hants, England Burlington, VT, Ashgate.
- DEWAR, D., TODESCHINI, F. & AFRICA INSTITUTE FOR POLICY ANALYSIS AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION. 1999. *Urban management and economic integration in South Africa*, Cape Town, AIPA/Francolin Publishers.
- DLAMINI, J. 2009. *Native Nostalgia*, Johannesburg, Jacana Media.
- DOBSON, R. & SKINNER, C. 2009. *Working in Warwick*, Cape Town, African Centre for Cities.
- DOVEY, K. 2010. *Becoming places : urbanism/architecture/identity/power*, London, New York, Routledge.
- DRUOT, F., LACATON, A. & VASSAL, J.-P. 2007. *Plus : large-scale housing developments : an exceptional case*, Barcelona, GG [Editorial Gustavo Gili].
- DUNLOP, J. 2010. *How to Take Part in an Ethiopian Coffee Ceremony* [Online]. <http://www.worldhum.com>
- DUNNE, A. 2005. *Hertzian tales : electronic products, aesthetic experience, and critical design*, Cambridge, Mass. ; London, MIT.
- DUNNE, A. & RABY, F. 2011. *INTERPRETATION, COLLABORATION, AND CRITIQUE* [Online]. Dunne&Raby. <http://www.dunneandraby.co.uk>
- DUNNE, A. & RABY, F. 2013. *Dunne and Raby* [Online]. <http://www.dunneandraby.co.uk>
- DUTTON, T. A. & MANN, L. H. 1996. *Reconstructing Architecture: Critical Discourses and Social Practices*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- EGLASH, R. 1999. *African Fractals: Modern Computing and Indigenous Design*, Piscataway, Rutgers University Press.
- EL LISSITZKY 1921. *Prouns: designs for street decorations*. Collection VanAbbe Museum, Eindhoven.
- EL LISSITZKY 1923. *Proun Room* (reconstruction, c 2010). Eindhoven, Stedelijk Van Abbemuseum.
- EL LISSITZKY 1924. *Self Portrait: the Constructor*.
- EMMISON, M. & SMITH, P. 2000. *Researching the visual : images, objects, contexts and interactions in social and cultural inquiry*, London, SAGE.
- ENWEZOR, O. (ed.) 2001. *The Short Century: Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa 1945-1994*, London, Prestel.
- ENWEZOR, O. (ed.) 2002. *Under siege: Four African Cities. Freetown, Johannesburg, Kinshasa, Lagos*, Ostfildern-Ruit, Hatje Cantz.
- ERNSTEN, C. 2012. Shaping Memory. *Domus*, 12.
- ERNSTEN, C., BROEKMANS, T., FEENSTRA, S. & URHAHN, G. (eds.) 2010. *The Spontaneous City*, Amsterdam, BIS.
- ESCOBAR, A. 2009. Other Worlds Are (Already) Possible. In: SEN, J. & WATERMAN, P. (eds.) *World Social Forum: Challenging Empires*. Montreal/New York/London, Black Rose Books.
- FANON, F. 1963. *The Wretched of the earth*, New York, Grove Press.

- FAROUK, I. 2009. *Trolley Works* [Online]. <http://www.trolleyworks.net>
- FÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DE FOOTBALL, A. 2007. Laws of the Game 2007/2008. In: BOARD, I. F. A. (ed.). Zurich, FIFA.
- FÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DE FOOTBALL, A. 2010. *20 Centres for 2010* [Online]. Geneva, FIFA. <http://www.fifa.com>
- FERGUSON, F. (ed.) 2006. *Talking Cities: The Micropolitics of Urban Space*, Berlin, Birkhauser.
- FILHO, C. O. c2010. *Projecto Hélio Oiticica*. <http://www.heliooitica.org.br>
- FOER, F. 2005. *How Soccer Explains the World: An Unlikely Theory of Globalisation*, New York, Harper Perennial.
- FOSTER, H., KRAUSS, R. E., BOIS, Y.-A. & BUCHLOH, B. H. D. 2004. *Art since 1900 : modernism, antimodernism, postmodernism*, London, Thames & Hudson.
- FRANCK, K. & STEVENS, Q. (eds.) 2006. *Loose Space: Possibility and Diversity in Urban Life*, London, Routledge.
- FRIENDS OF THE HIGH LINE. 2010. *High Line: The official Web site of the High Line and Friends of the High Line* [Online]. New York. <http://www.thehighline.org/>.
- FRY, M. & DREW, J. 1956. *Tropical Architecture in the Humid Zone*, London, B.T. Batsford.
- GARNER, G. 2011. *Johannesburg: Ten Ahead. A Decade of Inner City Regeneration*, Johannesburg, Double G Media.
- GEHL, J. 1987. *Life between buildings*, New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- GHIRARDO, D. 1991. *Out of site: a social criticism of architecture*, Seattle, Bay Press.
- GINSBURG, R. 1996. 'Now I Stay in a House': Renovating the Matchbox in Apartheid-Era Soweto. *Journal of African Studies*, 55.
- GOLDBLATT, D. 2008. *The ball is round: a global history of soccer*, New York, Riverhead Books.
- GRAND, S. & JONAS, W. (eds.) 2012. *Mapping Design Research* Basel, Birkhauser.
- GRAY, C. & MALINS, J. 2004. *Visualizing Research: A Guide to the Research Process in Art and Design*, Aldershot, Ashgate.
- GYPSYJOURNO (director). 2012. *Police brutality in Johannesburg 12/01/12*.
- HABRAKEN, J. 1972. *Supports: An Alternative to Mass Housing*, London, Architectural Press.
- HALL, S. 2009. Visualising Difference: Picturing a multi-ethnic street. *Researching the Spatial and Social Life of the City. Cities Lab, The London School of Economics and Political Science*, 1, 49-65.
- HARDT, M. & NEGRI, A. 2009. *Commonwealth*, Cambridge, Mass., Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- HARRIS, S. & BERKE, D. (eds.) 1997. *Architecture of the Everyday*, New York, N.Y., Princeton Architectural Press.
- HARRISON, P., TODES, A. & WATSON, V. 2008. *Planning and transformation : learning from the post-apartheid experience*, London, Routledge.
- HENDRICKX, A., JANSSENS, N., MARTENS, S., NOLLET, T., VAN DEN BERGHE, J. & VERBEKE, J. 2008. Reflections 7. *Reflections*. Ghent, Architectuur Reflectie Centrum.

- HENKET, H.-J. & HEYNEN, H. (eds.) 2002. *Back from Utopia: The Challenge of the Modern Movement*, Rotterdam: NAI Publishers.
- HERNÁNDEZ, F. 2010. *Bhabha for architects*, New York, Routledge.
- HEYENEN, H. 1999. *Architecture and modernity : a critique*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press.
- HEYENEN, H. & LOECKX, A. 1998. Scenes of Ambivalence: Concluding Remarks on Architectural Patterns of Displacement. *Journal of Architectural Education*, 52, 100-108.
- HIRSCH, L. (director) *Amandla! A Revolution in Four-Part Harmony*, 2002.
- HOLSTON, J. 1989. *The Modernist City: An Antropological Critique of Brazil*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- HUGHES, R. 2006. The poetics of practice-based research writing. *Journal of Architecture*, 11, 283-301.
- HUTTON, N. (director) 2006. *Nightwatch: Zion*.
- JACOBS, J. M. 1961. *The death and life of great American cities*, New York, Random House.
- JAPHA, D. 1986. The social programme of the South African modern movement in architecture. *Africa Seminar*. Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town.
- JOHANNESBURG DEVELOPMENT AGENCY. 2013. *Johannesburg Development Agency* [Online]. Johannesburg. <http://www.jda.org.za>.
- JONAS, W. 2001. A Scenario for Design. *Design Issues*, 17, 64-80.
- JUDIN, H., VLADISLAVIC, I. & NEDERLANDS ARCHITECTUURINSTITUUT. 1998. *Blank_: architecture, apartheid and after*, Rotterdam, NAI.
- KENNEDY, R. 2007. *When Meals Played the Muse* [Online]. New York: The New York Times. <http://www.nytimes.com>
- KIM, R. H.-K. 2011. *The Hyphenation of the Void: From Eastern Ecology to Western Architecture*. PhD in Architecture, University College London.
- KNEISS, B. 2007. *DD 20 Adoptions*, Seoul.
- KNOWLES, G. J. 2008. *Handbook of the arts in qualitative Research: methodologies, examples and issues*, Los Angeles, Sage Publications.
- KOHLER, N. & HASSLER, U. 2002. The building stock as a research object. *Building Research and Information*, 30, 226-236.
- KOOLHAAS, R. (director) 2005. *Lagos Wide and Close*. Amsterdam, submarine.
- KORTJAAS, B.-B. 2011. Funding soon for grassroots soccer. *Timeslive* [Online]. <http://www.timeslive.co.za>
- KRASNY, E. (ed.) 2013. *Hands-on Urbanism*, Vienna, Architekturzentrum Wien.
- KRAUSE-VILMAR, J., CHAFFIN, J. & JINNAH, Z. 2011. *No Place to Go But Up: Urban Refugees in Johannesburg, South Africa*. New York, Women's Refugee Commission.
- KRIVY, M. 2010. The idea of empty space. Pro Kaapeli movement and the Cable Factory in Helsinki. *Yhdyskuntasuunnittelu*, 48, 9-25.

- KRIVY, M. 2011. Speculative redevelopment and conservation: the signifying role of architecture. *City*, 15, 42-62.
- KULTERMANN, U. 1963. *New architecture in Africa*, New York, Universe Books.
- KURGAN, T. 2010. *Hotel Yeoville* [Online]. Johannesburg. <http://www.hotelyeoville.co.za>
- LATOUCHE, S. 2009. *Farewell to Growth*, Cambridge, MA, Polity Press.
- LATOURL, B. 2009. A Cautious Prometheus? A Few Steps Toward a Philosophy of Design (with Special Attention to Peter Sloterdijk). In: HACKNEY, F., GLYNNE, J. & MINTON, V. (eds.) *Networks of Design: meeting of the Design History Society*. Falmouth, Cornwall, Universal Publishers.
- LE CORBUSIER 1927. *Towards a New Architecture*, London, Frances Lincoln.
- LE ROUX, H. 1999. contingency plans. In: ENWEZOR, O. (ed.) *Trade Routes: History and Geography. Catalogue of the Biennale of Johannesburg*. Johannesburg, AICA.
- LE ROUX, H. 2002. *Critical Approaches to the Discourse of Climatic Responsiveness in Modern Architecture in West Africa*. Master of Architecture (By Research), University of the Witwatersrand.
- LE ROUX, H. 2005. *Foreign parts: Modern Architecture in East Africa after Independence*, Dar Es Salaam, Utrecht, ArchiAfrika.
- LE ROUX, H. 2005b. Forms of Agency. ASC05, *Architecture Student Congress*. Johannesburg: unpublished paper.
- LE ROUX, H. 2007a. The KwaThema Project: Designing Negotiations between Planning and Violence, *The Politics of Design: proposal call by IfG, Ulm*. Johannesburg.
- LE ROUX, H. 2007b. UPAT/Fisher Offices. *Digest of South African Architecture, 2006/2007*, pp 166-171, 2006/2007, 6.
- LE ROUX, H. 2008a. *The KwaThema Project* [Online]. Johannesburg. <http://www.kwathema.net>.
- LE ROUX, H. 2008b. Museum of the Struggle. *Domus*. Milan, DomusEditoriale.
- LE ROUX, H. & MATSIPA, M. 2008. *locating_2010*. Venice, Xlth International Exhibition of Architecture, la Biennale di Venezia.
- LE ROUX, H. (ed.) 2012. JEPPE. *Exhibit for "Smart Cities"*. Rotterdam, 5th International Architecture Biennale Rotterdam
- LEE, P. M. & MATTA-CLARK, G. 2000. *Object to be destroyed : the work of Gordon Matta-Clark*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press.
- LEFAIVRE, L., DE ROODE, I. & FUCHS, R. H. 2002. *Aldo van Eyck : the playgrounds and the city*, Amsterdam and Rotterdam, Stedelijk Museum, NAI Publishers.
- LEFEBVRE, H. 1991. *The Production of Space*, Oxford, Blackwell.
- LÉVI-STRAUSS, C. 1966. *The Savage Mind*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson.
- LIGTELIJN, V. (ed.) 1999. *Aldo van Eyck: Works*, Basel, Birkhauser.
- LINARD, C., TATEM, A. J. & GILBERT, M. 2013. Modelling spatial patterns of urban growth in Africa. *Applied Geography*, 44, 23-32.

- LOOKLOCAL. 2012. *DA slams Ekurhuleni Metro for lack of maintenance of football fields* [Online]. <http://www.looklocal.co.za>
- LU, D. (ed.) 2011. *Third World Modernism: Architecture, development and identity*, Oxon., Routledge.
- MACAO. 2012. *M^C^O* [Online]. <http://www.macao.mi.it>.
- MAGUBANE, P. & KLOPPER, S. 2001. *Ceremonies*, Cape Town, Struik.
- MAIL AND GUARDIAN. 2009. *Gang-rape killer of lesbian footballer gets life* [Online]. <http://mg.co.za>
- MAP KIBERA. 2009. *Map Kibera: citizen mapping | citizen media* [Online]. <http://www.mapkibera.org>.
- MASSEY, J. & SNYDER, B. 2012. *Occupying Wall Street: Places and Spaces of Political Action. Places*.
- MATTA CLARKE, G. 1974. *Splitting*.
- MBEMBE, A. 2010. untitled presentation. *Extra Time: Soccer and Social Change*. WISER, University of the Witwatersrand.
- MEYER, J. (ed.) 2000. *Minimalism*, London, Phaidon.
- MICHEL, R. (ed.) 2007. *Design research now: essays and selected projects*, Basel, Boston, Birkhauser.
- MISTRA 2012. *The art, philosophy and science of football in South Africa*. Johannesburg, Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection.
- MONTESSORI, M. 1912. *The Montessori Method*, New York, Frederick A. Stokes Company.
- MONTESSORI, M. 1914. *Dr. Montessori's own handbook*, New York, Frederick A. Stokes Company.
- MORRIS, A. 1999. *Bleakness and Light: Inner City transition in Hillbrow, Johannesburg*, Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press.
- MÜLLER, T. & SCHNEIDER, R. 2002. *Montessori – Teaching Materials 1913-1935, Furniture and Architecture*, New York, Prestel.
- MURRAY, M. 2011. *City of Extremes: the spatial politics of Johannesburg*, Johannesburg, Wits University Press.
- NALBANTOĞLU, G. B. & WONG, C. T. 1997. New York, Princeton Architectural Press.
- NEGASH, M. 17 August 2009. *email correspondence*.
- NEL, M. 2009. *Township Transformation Timeline*. Johannesburg, Shikasa.
- NOBLE, J. 2011. *African Identity in Post-Apartheid Public Architecture: White Skin, Black Masks*, Aldergate, Ashgate.
- OITICICA, H. 1963a. *Box Bólido 1 Cartesiano*. Projeto Hélio Oiticica.
- OITICICA, H. 1963b. *Box Bólido 2 Platónica*. Projeto Hélio Oiticica.
- OITICICA, H. 1964. *Box-Bólido 9*.
- OSSERVATORIONOMADE. 2006. *Blogs in Corviale* [Online]. Rome. <http://www.osservatorionomade.net/>
- OSTHOFF, S. 1997. *Lygia Clark and Hélio Oiticica: A Legacy of Interactivity and Participation for a Telematic Future*. Leonardo, 30.
- OXFORD ART ONLINE & VV. 2013. *Oxford Art Online*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- PAPANEK, V. 1972. *Design for the real world, human ecology and social change*, London, Thames and Hudson.

- PARLIAMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA 2010. *2010 Legacy Project briefings: Department of Arts and Culture & SA Football Association*. Cape Town, PMG.
- PERLOFF, N. L., REED, B. & LISSITZKY, E. (eds.) 2003. *Situating El Lissitzky: Vitebsk, Berlin, Moscow*, Los Angeles, Getty Publications.
- PERRY, J. 2013. *Bed in Sheds and Rogue Landlords*. London, Migrants Rights Network,.
- PETRESCU, D., PETCOU, C. & AWAN, N. (eds.) 2010. *Trans-Local-Production: Cultural practices within and across Paris*, aaa-peprav.
- PFREUNDER, G. & KARAMA, D. 2011. *Chop Shop*.
- PIETERSE, E. & SIMONE, A. (eds.) 2013. *Rogue Urbanism: Emergent African Cities*, Cape Town and Johannesburg African Centre for Cities and Jacana Media.
- PILLAY, U., TOMLINSON, R. & BASS, O. 2009. *Development and Dreams: The urban legacy of the 2010 football World Cup*, Cape Town, HSRC Press.
- PINK, S. 2006. *Doing Visual Ethnography*, London, SAGE.
- PINTHER, K., FÖRSTER, L., HANUSSEK, C. & (eds.) 2010. *AFROPOLIS. Stadt, Medien, Kunst*. Cologne, Verlag der Buchhandlung Walther König.
- PLAYSOCCER. 2013. *Play Soccer Nonprofit International* [Online]. <http://www.playsoccer-nonprofit.org>.
- POHLANDT-MCCORMICK, H. 2005. *"I Saw a Nightmare..." Doing Violence to Memory: The Soweto Uprising, June 16, 1976* [Online]. Gutenberg <e>, Columbia University Press.
- PORTES, A., CASTELLS, M. & BENTON, L. A. 1989. *The Informal economy: studies in advanced and less developed countries*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- PRESERVATION GREEN LAB & FREY, P. 2011. *The Greenest Building: Quantifying the Environmental Value of Building Reuse*. Seattle, National Trust for Historic Preservation.
- PROPERTUITY. 2013. *The Maboneng Precinct* [Online]. <http://www.mabonengprecinct.com>.
- PROVOOST, M., ROTTENBERG, F. & CRIMSON ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIANS. 2007. *Wimby! Hoogvliet : future past and present of a new town : Wimby, the big book*, Rotterdam, Nai Uitgevers Pub.
- PRUSSIN, L. 1995. *African Nomadic Architecture: Space, Place and Gender*, Washington and London, Smithsonian Institution Press and The National Museum of African Art.
- RABINOW, P. 1989. *French Modern: Norms and forms of the Social Environment*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press.
- RICHARDS, J. M. 1961. *New buildings in the Commonwealth*, London, Architectural Press.
- RIETVELD LANDSCAPE 2010. Vacant NL. Venice, Netherlands Architecture Institute.
- ROBBRECHT & DAEM. 2013. *Robbrecht & Daem* [Online]. www.robbrechtendaem.com.
- ROSSI, A. 1982. *The architecture of the city*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press.
- ROWE, C. & KOETTER, F. 1978. *Collage city*, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press.

- RUBY, I. & RUBY, A. 2008. *Urban transformation*, Berlin, Ruby Press and Holcim Foundation for Sustainable Construction.
- SACHS, J. 2005. *The End of Poverty*, London, Penguin Press.
- SADLER, S. (ed.) 2000. *Non-Plan: Essays on Freedom, Participation and Change in Modern Architecture and Urbanism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- SAHO 2000. *South African History Online*. Cape Town. <http://www.sahistory.org.za>
- SAN DIEGO COUNTY OFFICE OF EDUCATION. 2013. *After School Physical Activity* [Online]. http://www.afterschoolpa.com/typesoftournaments_a.html.
- SANTORI, F. G. & PIETROMARCHI, B. 2006. *Osservatorio Nomade. Immaginare Corviale. Pratiche ed estetiche per la città contemporanea*, Bologna, Bruno Mondadori.
- SCHÖN, D. A. 1983. *The reflective practitioner : how professionals think in action*, New York, Basic Books.
- SCHOUTEN, P. 2008. *Theory Talk #13: Immanuel Wallerstein* [Online]. <http://www.theory-talks.org>
- SCOTT, J. C. 1998. *Seeing like a state : how certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. Hartford, Yale University Press.
- SEAGO, A. & DUNNE, A. 1999. New Methodologies in Art and Design Research: The Object as Discourse. *Design Issues*, 15, 11.
- SHARP, D. & COOKE, C. (eds.) 2000. *The modern movement in architecture: selections from the docomomo registers*, Rotterdam, docomomo books.
- SIJADU, A. 2010. *RE: interview*.
- SIMONE, A. 2004a. People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg. *Public Culture*, 16, 407-429.
- SIMONE, A. 2006. The Right to the City. *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 7, 321-325.
- SIMONE, A.-M. 2004b. *For the City Yet to Come: changing African life in four cities*, Durham, Duke University Press.
- SMITH, N. 1992. Contours of a Spatialized Politics: Homeless Vehicles and the Production of Geographical Scale. *Social Text*, 33, 54-81.
- SOUTH AFRICAN FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION 2004. *South African Football Association 2010 Bid Book*.
- SPITZ, R. 2012. *HfG IUP IFG: Ulm 1968-2008*, Ulm, Design Forum IFG Ulm.
- STANEK, L. 2011. *Henri Lefebvre on Space: Architecture, Urban Research and the Production of Theory*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- STIGLITZ, J. E. 2012. *The Price of Inequality: How Today's Divided Society Endangers Our Future*, New York, W.W. Norton and Company.
- STOOPS, L. (director). 2010. *Grande Hotel*. Belgium/Mocambique.
- STRAUVEN, I., DELVOLDERE, S. & DELBEKE, M. 2009. *Robbrecht en Daem: Pacing through Architecture*, Brussels and Köln, Bozar Books and König.
- STREETFOOTBALLWORLD. 2013. *streetfootballworld* [Online]. <http://www.streetfootballworld.org>.

- SWART, F. 2013. *de Ateljee* [Online]. <http://www.dieateljee.com>
- THE ADVOCATES FOR HUMAN RIGHTS 2009. Human Rights in Ethiopia: Through the eyes of the Oromo Diaspora. Minneapolis: The Advocates for Human Rights.
- THE DREAMFIELDS PROJECT. 2013. *The Dreamfields Project* [Online]. <http://www.dreamfieldsproject.org>.
- TILL, J. c2010. *What is architectural research?* London, Royal Institute of British Architects.
- TILL, J., AWAN, N. & SCHNEIDER, T. 2011. *Spatial Agency* [Online]. University of Sheffield. <http://spatialagency.net>
- TILLIM, G. 1995. *Jo'burg*, Trézélan and Johannesburg, Filigranes Editions and STE.
- TILLIM, G. 2008. *Avenue Patrice Lumumba*, London, Prestel.
- TIPPLE, A. G. 2000. *Extending themselves : user-initiated transformations of government-built housing in developing countries*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press.
- TISSINGTON, K. 2009. *The Business of Survival: Informal Trading in Inner City Johannesburg*. Johannesburg, Centre for Applied Legal Studies (CALS).
- TISSINGTON, K. 2011. *A Resource Guide to Housing in South Africa 1994-2010*. Johannesburg, Socio-economic Resource Institute of South Africa (SERI).
- TOLSI, N. 2010. The World Cup bid book fiasco. *Mail & Guardian online* [Online]. <http://mg.co.za>
- TONKISS, F. 2013. Austerity urbanism and the makeshift city. *City*, 17, 312-324.
- TUFTE, E. R. 1990. *Envisioning information*, Cheshire, Connecticut, Graphics Press.
- TURNER, J. & FICHTER, R. 1972. *Freedom to Build: Dweller Control of the Housing Process*, New York, The MacMillan Company.
- VAN EYCK, A. 2008. *Aldo van Eyck: writings*, Amsterdam, Sun.
- VAN HYSWIJK, J. *Jeannetworks* [Online]. <http://www.jeannetworks.net>.
- VAN SCHAİK, L. 2008. *Spatial intelligence : new futures for architecture*, Hoboken, N.J., Wiley.
- VAN SCHAİK, L. 2009. *Thinking about Architecture, Thinking about Architects*. [exhibition].
- VIGNESWARAN, D., YASO, M. & HORNBERGER, J. 2012. Policing the Beat: Music Piracy in Downtown Johannesburg. *International Policing, Mobility and Crime in South Africa*. Johannesburg, African Centre for Migration and Society.
- VLADISLAVIC, I. (ed.) 2014. *Mikhael Subotzky & Patrick Waterhouse: Ponte City*, Gottingen, Steidl.
- VORSTER, C. 2010. *The Real Soccer Fields of South Africa*, Cape Town, ReadHill Publishing.
- WAAL, G.-M. V. D. 1987. *From Mining Camp to Metropolis - The buildings of Johannesburg 1886-1940*, Pretoria, Human Sciences Research Council.
- WEAVER, R. 2009. "Player Transfers" *Soccer Politics Pages* [Online]. Durham: Duke University. <http://sites.duke.edu>
- WILLIAMS, S. 2014. *Digital Matatus* [Online]. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Department of Urban Studies and Planning. <http://dusp.mit.edu/cdd/project/digital-matatus> 2014].
- YICHTAFEL, O. 2009. Theoretical notes on "gray cities": the coming of urban apartheid? *Planning Theory*, 8, 87-99.

ZACK, T. 2011a. *City collages*.

ZACK, T. 2011b. Seeking logic in the Chaos Precinct – the spatial and property dynamics of trading space in ‘Jeppe’.
South African City Studies Conference. African Centre for Cities, University of Cape Town.

ZARDINI, M. & BORASI, G. (eds.) 2008. *Actions: What You Can Do With the City* Montréal and Amsterdam,
Canadian Centre for Architecture and SUN.

ZUS 2009. *Central District Rotterdam*. Rotterdam, International Architecture Biennale.

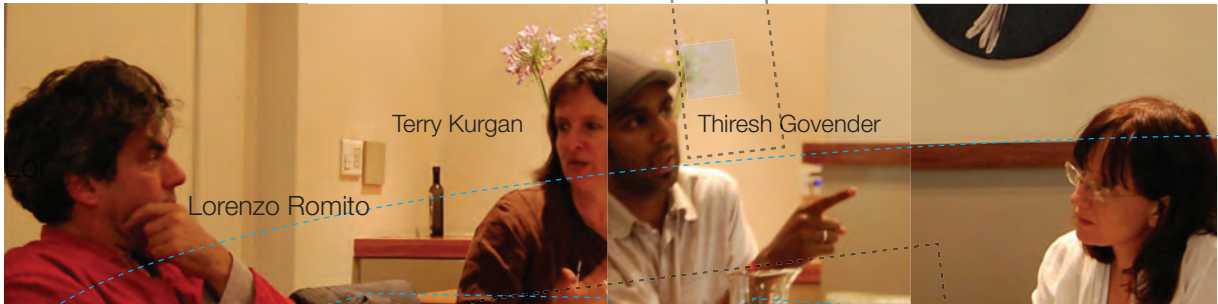
APPENDIXES

LIST OF SEMINARS

event	venue	date	speaker	topic	notes
modernx: seminar	John Moffat Building	09/23/2009			
			Hannah le Roux	introduction	
			Bruno de Meulder	keynote address	
			Julian Cooke	Langa Hostels	
			Andrew Makin	Warwick Junction	
			Gwen Theron	Mamelodi food gardens	
			Ilze Wolff	OH tours	
panel discussion	University Corner				participants: Bruno de Meulder, Hannah le Roux, Iain Low, Lone Poulsen, Tariq Toffah, Tahira Toffah, Jean-Louis Cohen
performance	University Corner				Eduardo Cachucho VJ
discussion	Nerina Trogon restaurant	11/30/2010			
			Terry Kurgan	Hotel Yeoville	
			Lorenzo Romito	Osservatorio Nomade	
			Thresh Govender	Johannesburg projects	
			Hannah le Roux		
seminar	Robbrecht en Daem offices	04/24/2012			
			Hilde Heynen		Architecture as container, frame and support
			Bruno de Meulder		Hereafter of architecture
			Hannah le Roux		Parallel practices in architecture
			Paul Robbrecht		closing remarks on art and architecture
performance (BunnaBet Ghent)			Ana Michelena Eva De Bruyn	coffee ceremony	

SEMINARS, 2009-2012

Narina Trogon Restaurant, Braamfontein, Johannesburg, 2011



University Corner, Johannesburg, 2009



Gwen Theron
Julian Cooke
Andrew Makin
Ilze Wolff

Robbrecht en Daem offices, Ghent, 2012



Paul Robbrecht
Hilde Heynen
Liesbeth Huybrechts

Bruno de Meulder

PITCH - LIST

element	material	sizes	sizes	sizes	supplier
fabric	knittex shade fabric	3000mm	36m		knittex
poles	steel poles	30mmø	3m		
	gumpoles	50-75mmø	3m		
pole base hinge	laser cut steel	150mm	150mm		laserfab
pole base fixed	PVC piping	100mm			
tyres	used car tyres	160mm	450mmø	26 off	local shop
fabric clamps	plastic clips	100mm	40mm	5mm	greenhouse tech
	metal clips	tbc	tbc	tbc	laserfab
clamp anchor	triangle wire joint	100mm	100mm	5mm	hardware/bender
ropes	white HDPE ski rope	4m	10mm	30 off	knittex 011 692 1658
tent anchors	steel wire	36 off			camping store
transport bag	white nylon woven fabric	3m	500mm	500mm	buffel bag
line painter	mobile line painter	±1m	±600mm	±1m	Hawk
paint	white PVA	5l			hardware
setting out rope	white cotton string	2 off	100m		hardware
corner posts	white PVC tubing	4 off	500mm	15mmø	hardware
goal markers	lumo plastic safety cones	4 off	±500mm	300x300mm	safety shop
goal posts	steel pipe	1 off	±7,3m	±2,4m	engineers
soccer balls	unmarked white balls	4 off	250mmø		sports shop
bibs	white fabric vests	22 off	±500mm	±500mm	custom made
facepaint	kaolin or zinc paste	1l			
banner	announcement for game	±1000mm	±3m		custom painted
plastic chairs	white moulded chairs	36 off	500mm	500mm	
toilets	portable chemical toilets	2 off	±1000mm	±1000mm	
concrete slab	1:2:4 mix ie 51 cement; 3.8cu sand, 9600kg stone	40m	2m	100mm	cashbuild
store	used shipping container	6m	2,4m	2,4m	Safmarine?
tools	mallets, saw, spades, picks, wheelbarrows				hardware
lawnmower	petrol mower or weedeater				lmvelo
scraper	caterpillar vehicle				DRD Gold?
soil treatment	dust suppressor liquid eg Dustex to be sprayed on pitch	±60m	±100m		27 (0)11 390 3499

TATA MA TARPS



Shade Net / PVC Mesh

SHADE NET/ PVC MESH:

We recycle a **280g polyester scrim reinforced PVC mesh**, that offers a **55% shade**, comes in widths of **3.2m wide** and white in colour. It is extremely strong, durable and tear resistant. It is great for fence linings, tunnels, game capturing bomas, scaffolding nets and any purpose where a shade cloth is required.



Mesh boma for game capturing:



Mesh fence lining:



Any size can be made to customer specifications Mesh is available in the following lengths:

- 50m x 3.2m
- 40m x 3.2m
- 30m x 3.2m

Helping Save The Planet



We have to date **recycled & prevented 300 tons** of PVC material from landing up in our landfills (approximately 600 000m2)

We continue to collect between **3.5 and 5 tons** of materials per month (7000-10000m2)

The type of material we recycle is non-biodegradable and therefore would still be found in our landfills decades to come.

Burning this PVC (which many of the advertising companies insist on, to protect their brand) releases hydrogen chloride gas into the atmosphere, which in turn turns into hydrochloric acid – **the cause of acid rain.**

CCA & Creosote Building and Fencing Poles

All building and fencing comply to the relevant SANS 457 & 1288

QUOTES

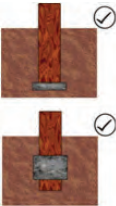
Please fill in quantity required on list

Name:	<input type="text"/>					
Email:	<input type="text"/>					
Company:	<input type="text"/>					
Tel No:	<input type="text"/>					
CCA or Creosote Treated	<input type="radio"/> CCA <input type="radio"/> Creosote					
If delivery required, where to:	<input type="text"/>					
Length & Diameter available: All poles are measured on their top diameter						
Length	Diameter					
in meter	50/75mm	75/100mm	100/125mm	125/150mm	150/175mm	175/200mm
1.2m	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
1.5m	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
1.8m	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
2.1m	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
2.4m	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
2.7m	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
3m	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
3.6m	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
4.2m	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
4.8m	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

Creosote (Black)



CCA (Green)



TURNTABLE TROLLEYS

SMTT



LTT-TD



Ref.	Bar Code	Capacity	Length	Width	Wheels Ø
SMTT (Steel Deck)	6005413002065	680kg	1500mm	760mm	350mm
SMTT-TD (Timber Deck)	6005413001220	680kg	1500mm	760mm	350mm
LTT (Steel Deck)	6005413001572	680kg	1800mm	910mm	350mm
LTT-TD (Timber Deck)	6005413001244	680kg	1800mm	910mm	350mm



S A LADDER®

FEATURES

- Finish - galvanised and powder coated
- 12 month warranty



EEZEEROLL
specialists in castors with a lifetime brand guarantee
wholesale & retail with one stop from



FOLDING NOSE
TROLLEYS

element	material	sizes	sizes	sizes	supplier
frames	gold anodised aluminum	4x1,5m	25x25mm		astro holdings
	stainless steel?	4x1,5m	tbc		
	angle joints				
	corner reinforcing				
boxes	corrugated card	9 off	500x500x500mm		Glenpak
boxes	brown card - used	min 6	variable		users
straps	white nylon	min 6	1000mm		
closers	clamper				Glenpak
	aluminium buckles	min 6			
carpet	white felt	2000mm	5000m	20mm	
	laser cut green clamps	min 33	10mm	100mm	laserfab
backdrop	stranded steel wire, clamps and anchors	varies - 3m + 5mmø			maizey/UPAT/hardware
	white flameproof sheer fabric - VoileCS	3m	2m + hem		showtex
	embroidery on fabric				Jimmy
counter top	mild steel plate	500mm	1500mm	2mm	laserfab
coffee tray	mild steel plate	500mm	1000mm	2mm	laserfab
stove	mild steel plate	200mm	200mm	500mm	laserfab
	grate	200mm	200mm	50mm	laserfab
jebena	ceramic	±300mm	±200mm	±150mm	netsi culture shop
cini	ceramic	min 48	80mm	80mmø	netsi culture shop
coffee roaster	mild steel plate	2 off	±200mmø	20mm	laserfab
wooden tray	east coast african hardwood	2 off	±200mm	±300mm	mezembite
hessian bags	hessian bags				bemoci
grinder	burr grinder for beans		1		Tigris
wash basin	clear plastic wash basin	2 off	max 300	max 400	
water supply	clear plastic water tank	50l			

EXHIBITION AT PRE-DEFENSE, BRUSSELS 2014

element	material	sizes	sizes	sizes	supplier	notes	cost
bunnabet							
frames	gold anodised aluminum L	4x1,5m	25x25mm				
	red coated aluminium channel	1,5m	80x40mm				
	corner reinforcing						
	joint to wall						
boxes	corrugated card	2 off	460x460x500mm				
boxes	brown card - used	min 6	variable		users		
straps	white nylon	min 6	1000mm				
closers	clamper				Glenpak		
	aluminium buckles	min 6					
floors	grass						
boxes	pallet timber	2 off	200x460x460mm	20mm			
box dividers	mild steel plate	4 off	200x450mm	2mm	laserfab		
counter top	mild steel plate	2 off	450x450mm	2mm	laserfab		
box stands	mild steel plate	4 off	450x450mm	2mm	laserfab		
stove	mild steel plate	200mm	200mm	500mm	laserfab		
grate	mild steel plate	200mm	200mm	50mm	laserfab		
jebena	ceramic	±400mm	±200mm		netsti culture shop		
cini	ceramic	min 48	80mm	80mmø	netsti culture shop		
coffee roaster	mild steel plate	2 off	±200mmø	20mm	laserfab		
wooden tray	ex pallet timber	2 off	±200mm	±300mm			
tongs	mild steel plate	300mm	30mm	3mm	laserfab		
coffee supplies	green Sedamo beans	2kg					
coffee supplies	white sugar	1kg					
coffee supplies	teff seeds	1kg					
bunnabet display							
light track	aluminium angles	6 off	50x50x3mm				
	light strips	3 off	1500mm				
	white acrylic	3 off	1500x100mm				
work sketches	photocopies	50 off					
model	acrylic	1500mm	1500mm	500mm			
pitch display							
field of fields	canvas fabric	5 off	1600x3000mm		ex SA Embassy, Paris		
context model	white card	6 off	A1				
field models	brown plastics	3 off	220mmø				
timeline	white nylon rope	6m					
1:1 details	various						
work sketches	photocopies	30 off	A4/A3				
video	HP7 tablet or similar	1 off					

BUNNABET FOR EXHIBITION



EXHIBITION, SINT-LUCAS BRUSSELS, 7-10 AUGUST 2014

1

2

3

4

a



b



c



OVERALL TIMELINE

